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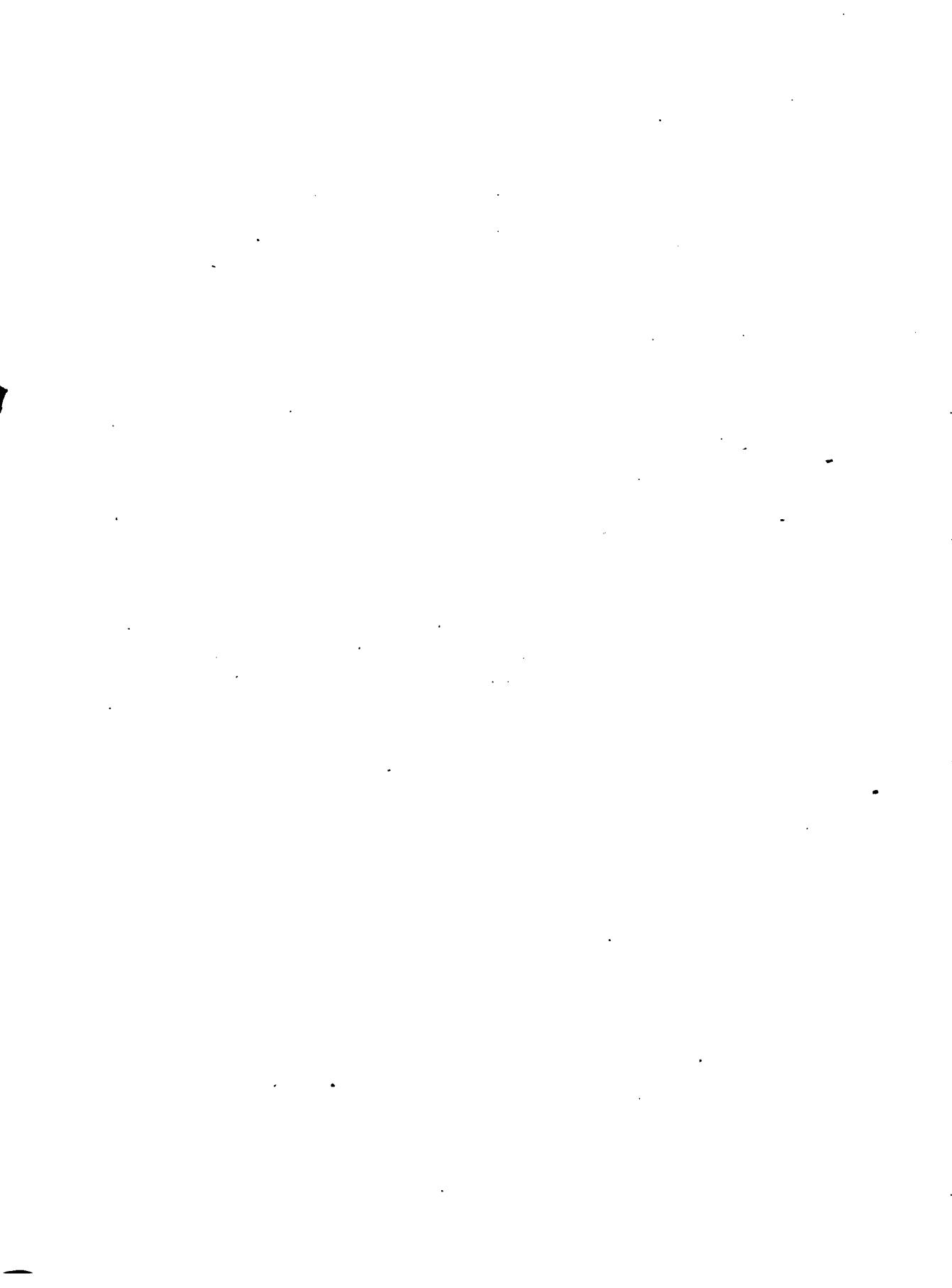
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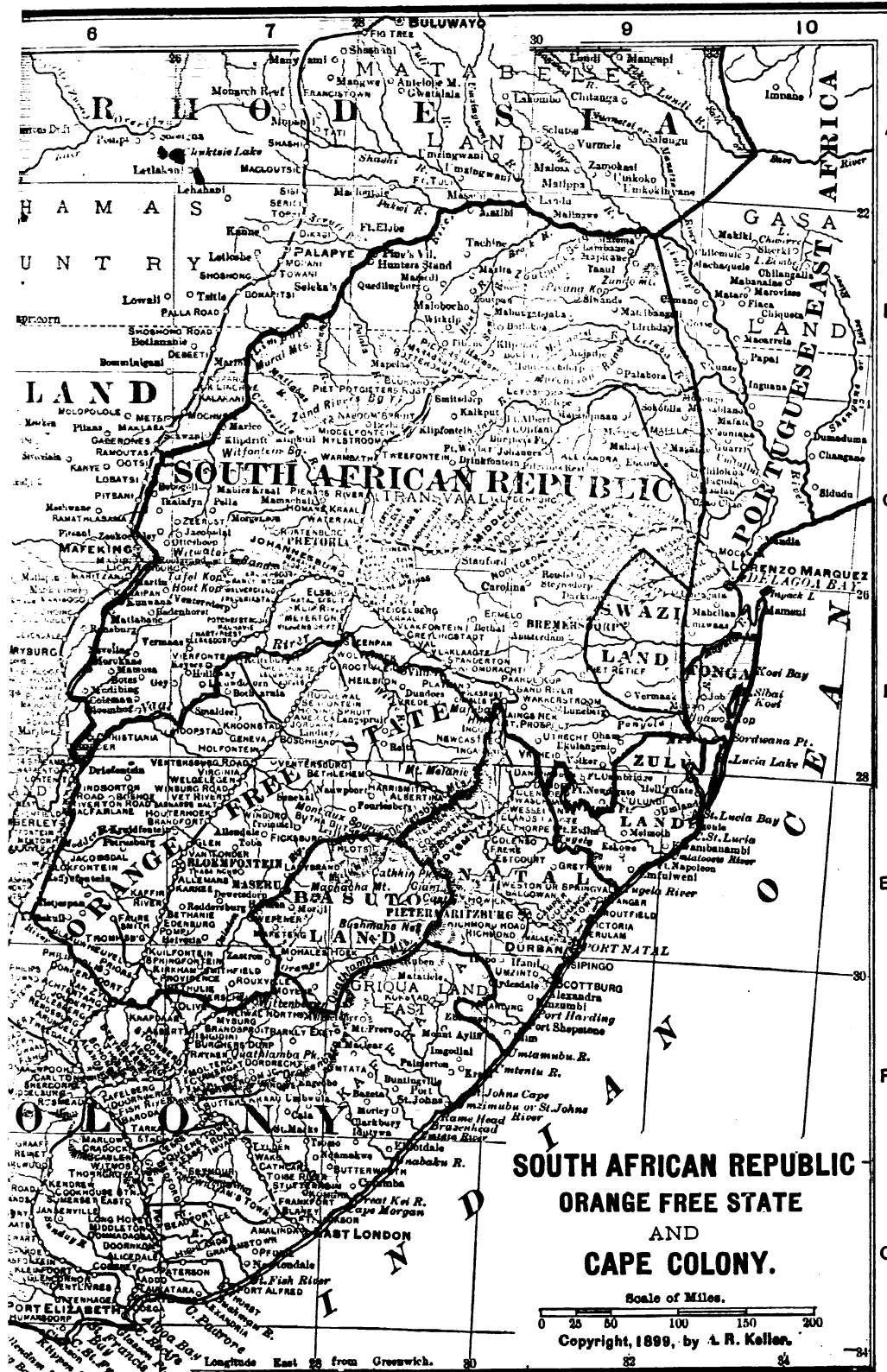
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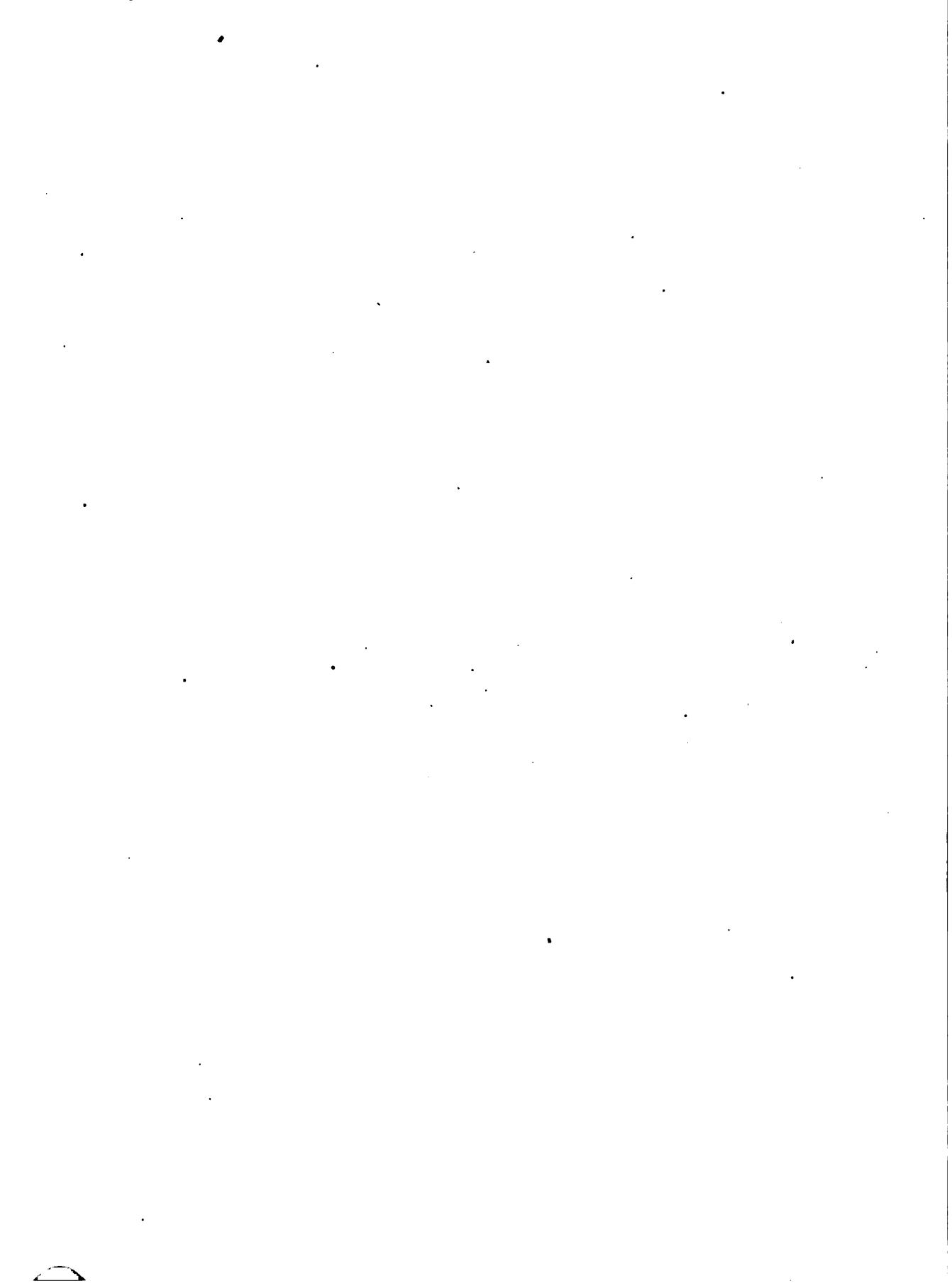
PRESENTED BY  
PROF. CHARLES A. KOFOID AND  
MRS. PRUDENCE W. KOFOID













**PAUL KRUGER.**

# The Story of South Africa

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE DARK CONTINENT BY THE EUROPEAN POWERS AND THE CULMINATING CONTEST BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC IN THE TRANSVAAL WAR

BY

JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL.D.

Author of "Cyclopaedia of Universal History," "Great Races of Mankind," "Life and Times of Gladstone," etc., etc.

AND

EDWARD S. ELLIS, A.M.

Author of the "Standard History of the United States," etc., etc.

*"And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold."—I Kings, 10-28*

Copiously Illustrated

WITH COLORED MAPS, HALF-TONE PORTRAITS, SKETCHES, SCENES AND WAR PICTURES,  
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## PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

The recent startling events in Southern Africa have already evoked a number of publications, and it is certain that many others will soon appear. The history-making instinct finds expression in both deeds and books. Among civilized races the event is speedily followed by the written record. In proportion to the importance of the crisis is the eagerness of enlightened peoples to read in the deliberate language of history the transcript of the latest episode in human progress.

Truly, the African game is great. The players are the nations; the stake is a continent. Strange that the historians and the publicists, the statesmen of Europe and America, have not foreseen the great crisis which has now broken into war between the most powerful empire in Christendom and the little republic of the Boers beyond the Vaal!

Thus it is, however, that the endless chain of events lengthens itself through the ages. History slowly prepares the antecedents of the greatest transformations and no man lays it to heart. Not until the storm of revolution actually descends—not until the roar of war is heard and the institutions of the past begin to topple down, are men able to perceive what is going on around them and to inquire into the causes of the catastrophe.

In the case of Africa, centuries of time have been beating out the problem, the solution of which has now begun by the arbitrament of battle. It were not surprising if the historical interest of the twentieth century should center in that continent which once had for its conspicuous actors the Egyptians and the Carthaginians, and which now has for its contestants the Briton on the one hand and the Boer on the other.

## PREFACE

In a work of this nature the aim of the authors has been to do justice to both sides in the conflict. One's sympathies may be with the Boers, the weaker party, for the world cannot fail to admire the heroism displayed by them, nor to do full justice to the civilized manner in which they have conducted their warfare. No one has conceded this more willingly than the English forces arrayed against them. On the other hand, it would be equally unfair to represent this war as an act of wanton aggression on the part of Great Britain. It is the proud boast of that empire that she extends the fullest protection to her citizens, even to the remotest corners of the earth. She claims that such protection and such justice are denied her subjects in the Transvaal. The temperate views of one of her leading citizens are set forth in this work, in order that they may be fully considered by the reader. It would be idle for Great Britain to expect that which she has received—the ardent support of Canada, whose offers of volunteers were so eager that the mother country was obliged to decline some of them, and of Australia and her other colonies, unless the loyal and conscientious subjects in each and all believed that right and justice were on the side of the Empire.

This record, therefore, aims to be fair to both parties to the war in the Transvaal, and to record the achievements of each without favor or prejudice.

In this volume the effort has been made to present in outline the historical transformation of Africa during the last four centuries. To this subject, the first section of the work has been given. The narrative in this part extends to the year 1895, and to the event of Dr. Leander S. Jameson's raid upon the Boer town of Johannesburg. The second part of the work begins with that incident and follows the record from the progress of events, first to the outbreak of hostilities in October of 1899, and then through the vicissitudes of the war to the date of publication.

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**GENERAL JOUBERT.**

**GENERAL SIR REDVERS BULLER, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH  
FORCES IN AFRICA.**

# The Story of South Africa



## CHAPTER I

### PORUGAL COLONIZES THE AFRICAN COAST

One of the most striking facts in Modern History has been the recent transformation of Africa. A marvelous change has been effected in that continent by the impact of the European nations. The work has been partly racial, partly political, largely commercial, and incidentally social and religious.

The old order in Africa is already supplanted by a new order. The modification has been effected with such celerity that the map of the continent has resembled the dissolving views of the stereopticon. Year by year, decade by decade, the changes have progressed until the political aspect is no longer recognizable by him who knew the map only as it was at the middle of the century. Nothing but the immovable outlines of the continent have survived the ambitious cross-purposes and readjustments effected in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by the peoples north of the Mediterranean.

Africa is the seat of the oldest and also of the newest civilization of mankind. A peculiar region in the northeastern angle of

the continent gave to the ancient Hamites their earliest and best opportunity for the development of a great national life. The recent creation of the Congo Free State and the South African Republics has become the occasion of the latest form of human progress, and at the same time the occasion of the latest conflict among the nations.

Africa was the first of the continents to be circumnavigated and geographically defined. It was the first to produce a great historical state. It was the first to incite by its resources the cupidity and aggressive ambitions of foreign powers. It was the first to become uniformly and homogeneously inhabited by a great barbarous population. It was the first to suggest the forceful displacement of the aboriginal races by the stronger and less sedentary races of the east and the north.

Ever and anon, during the whole historical period, new nations, eager for conquest and ambitious to expand their power, have thrown themselves upon the shores of Africa. In the first place, the ancient Hamites, who developed into the Egyptians, entered the northeastern angle of the continent as invaders and conquerors. They fixed themselves in the valley of the Nile, displacing the aborigines. After some thousands of years, the world conquering Aryans came under the leadership of Alexander the Great, and converted Lower Egypt into a Greek monarchy, enduring for several centuries. After a millennium, the Semites came in under the leadership of Ali and Omar the Great. Mohammedan caliphates were established, and all the northern coast of the country was subordinated to the rule of the successors of the prophet. During the Middle Ages of European history, the condition of Africa was not greatly changed, save that the Mohammedan states declined, and some of the native states, such as Abyssinia, had a long career of peaceful progress.

After the circumnavigation of the continent, in the age of discovery, the African coasts promised ever a rich reward. They seemed always to invite the descent of foreign adventurers and the establishment of foreign enterprises. More than three centuries elapsed, however, before the European forces had gathered in sufficient volume to break in their might on the shores of the south, and then to penetrate the dark interior of the vast continent. Indeed the nineteenth century was drawing to a close before the map of Modern Africa was seriously changed from its mediæval character.

We shall here narrate more particularly some of the special features of the transformation of Africa in recent times. The subject can be best introduced by referring to a few of the successive geographical representations of the country. It is in the cosmography of Africa, in different ages, that the historical modifications can be best measured and understood.

In the first place, the country called Africa was fairly well defined in the map of Ptolemy, produced about the year 150 A. D. This representation of the continent may be laid upon any modern map of Africa, and the superposition of the one on the other will in many parts be nearly perfect. In other parts, however, the map of Ptolemy was drawn by happy conjecture, rather than by actual explorations and measurements. The author was able to delineate Egypt with tolerable accuracy; also Nubia and Abyssinia. To the west of Egypt the Mediterranean coast was correctly drawn to the Strait of Gibraltar, and beyond and around the coast as far as Senegal. Thus was included the country of the Great Desert.

In the equatorial region, Ptolemy placed on the east the country designated as *Ethiopia Infra Aegyptum*; that is, Ethiopia below

Egypt; while to the west, including the valley of the Niger and the country bordering on the Gulf of Guinea, was placed *Ethiopia Interior*. On the southeast, along the coast, were located *Barbaria* and *Agisymba*; while the whole country below the tenth parallel, including what is now designated as South Africa, was called *Terra Incognita*.

We need not, however, dwell upon the ancient representations of Africa. The knowledge possessed by the geographers in the age of Ptolemy was obscured by the semi-barbarism of the centuries that followed. There is extant an Arabian map of the world, bearing date of the year 1154, in which the outline of Africa is presented with much exaggeration of some parts and grotesque misrepresentation of others. But the delineation is nevertheless recognizable as something produced on a shadowy basis of truth and knowledge. In the age of discovery, or more precisely in the year 1492, the globe of Martin Behaim was produced, on which the map of Africa was drawn with some improvement on that of the Arabian *Tabula Rotunda Rogeriana*, as it was called, of the twelfth century. But the Nuremberg geographer's attempt was nothing to seek for accuracy, and was valuable chiefly for the suggestion which it offered of the easy circumnavigation of the globe.

Another mediæval map, greatly improved from its predecessors, is that of "Africa according to Diego Ribeiro, 1529." Of this production nothing need be said, save that the cosmographical outline of the continent is much more nearly accurate than any other representation after that of Ptolemy down to the close of the sixteenth century.

Within this period, namely in 1591, still another outline of the African continent was drawn, with a most vivid fancy and an

astonishingly free-hand, by the Italian cosmographer, Filippo Pigafetta. In this work, the shore-line has some approximation to the correct figure of the continent, but the whole country is filled up with miraculous signs and fabulous suggestions as to both people and productions. Ranges of mountains, impossible rivers, gorgeous palaces, and opulent cities are scattered with lavish hand.

The next map of Africa to which we may profitably refer is that produced by the Dutch geographer, Jacob van Meurs, in the year 1668. This work is designated as an "Accurate Chart of Africa produced from Official Materials." In it there is much approximation to correctness in the outline of the continent, as well there might be, for one hundred and seventy-one years had now elapsed since the circumnavigation of Africa by Vasco Da Gama. Forty-two years later, that is, in 1710, still another attempt was made to draw the features and boundaries of the continent. In this instance, the work was done by the English cosmographer, H. Moll. His map is said to be "According to ye Newest and Most Exact Observations." It is dedicated to Charles, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth. In its outline, and indeed in all of its features, this map may be regarded as the best delineation of Africa produced before the beginning of the modern era; that is, before the Revolutionary Age in Europe and America.

This sketch of the cartography of Africa may serve to show the gradual and tedious establishment of human knowledge relative to the general character of one of the great divisions of the globe. It is the historical transformation—the extinction of old states and the foundation of new states in their stead—that we are here to describe. This transformation we shall follow through the political evolution of the last four centuries, down to the outbreak

of hostilities between the British and the Dutch in the South African Republic.

In the age of discovery, that is, at the close of the fifteenth century, the European nations began to be once more deeply concerned about the character and possibilities of the African coast. Movements in this direction were made before the middle of the century of discovery and exploration. The first impact of modern European power on the shores of Africa occurred in the year 1415, when the siege of Ceuta was brought to a successful conclusion by the Portuguese. Ceuta stands on the African shore over against Gibraltar. For about six centuries the Moors had had possession of this coast, but now by the courage and warlike abilities of King John of Portugal, assisted by Queen Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt of England, a successful siege was made. Ceuta was stormed by the Portuguese soldiery led by Prince Henry, destined to be called the Navigator, and by his two brothers.

The flag of Portugal was thus raised in Africa. The conquerors heard of the countries as far south as Timbuctoo and Guinea. Prince Henry became acquainted with the character of the continent, and it cannot be doubted that from his early years he cherished the dream of circumnavigation. Thus would he reach the fabled Indies and grasp their treasures. The Prince accordingly became expert in the geography of the age; he was a disciple of the Arabian Idrisi, noted in the cosmography of the twelfth century.

Up to this period in history, the commerce of Europe with Asia had been carried on by merchant ships in the Mediterranean. These discharged their cargoes on the shores of the Levant, and received in exchange the rich merchandise of the East. This was brought by caravan from various Oriental countries, and delivered to the

merchants of the West. In the fifteenth century, the Venetians had a monopoly of trade. The Portuguese could hardly hope to supplant the fleets of Venice in the Mediterranean, but they might well dream of the possibility of diverting the commerce of India from caravans to ships, and of establishing an all-water route from the Oriental ports to the harbors of Portugal.

It was this antecedent condition which inspired the Portuguese in their successful competition for the foremost place in the maritime and commercial enterprises of the fifteenth century. After the capture of Ceuta, Prince Henry, in the year 1418, when he was twenty-four years of age, accomplished successfully his first enterprise by sea. In command of an expedition, he doubled Cape Bojador, which he imagined to be the Cape of Storms. Sixteen years later this point was more completely rounded by Gil Eannes, who traced the coast southward, but without finding the end of the continent. Cape Blanco was doubled in 1442, and a slave-trade was established on this part of the coast. The country inland was penetrated to a great distance. In 1446, the Senegal was reached, and after two years Sierra Leone was discovered.

To this period belongs also the discovery and colonization of the Cape Verde Islands. By this time, gold and ivory began to be gathered from Timbuctoo. Further and still further the western coast of Africa was traced, and at the date of Prince Henry's death, that is, in 1460, the shore was known for eighteen hundred miles southward from Cape Nun. Before the middle of the century, the Prince had built a fort on the Bay of Arguin, south of Cape Blanco.

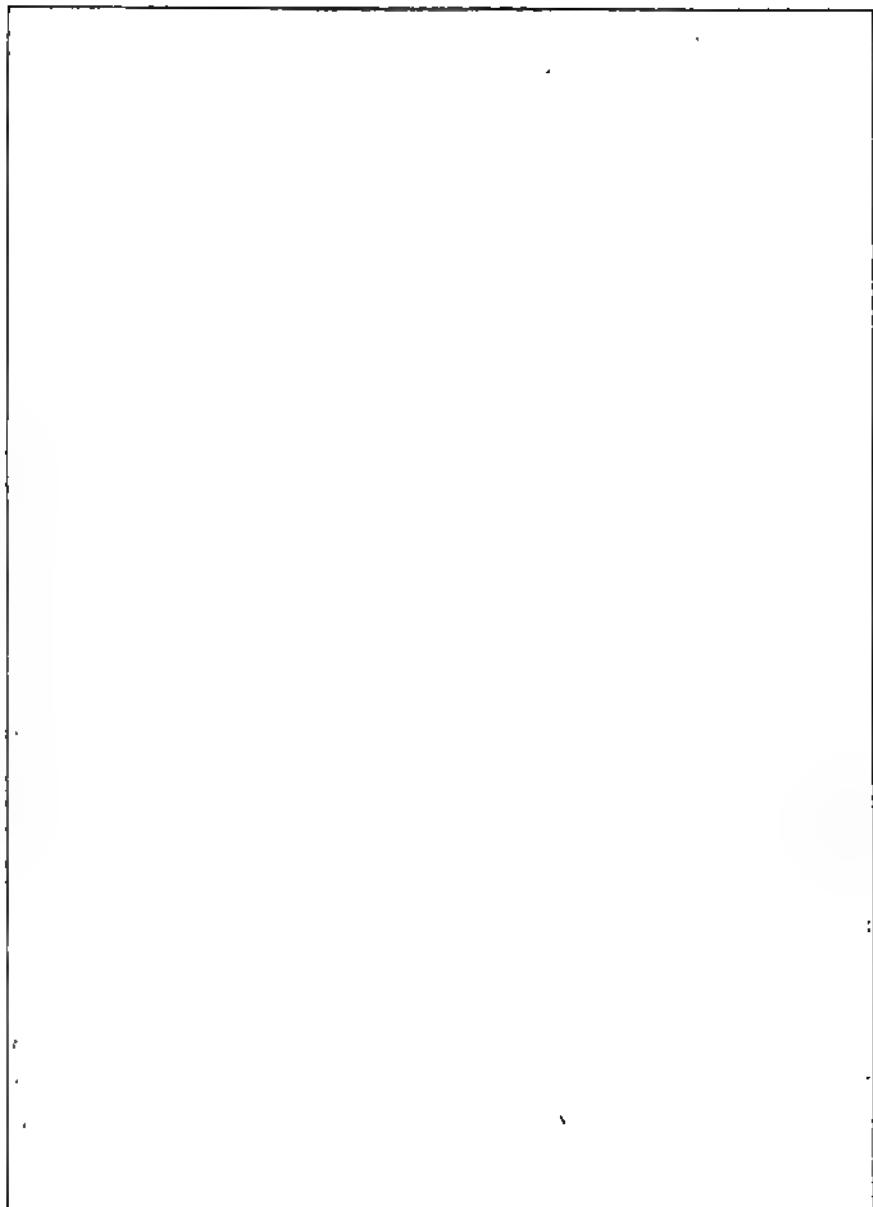
This fortress became the first headquarters and stronghold of Portuguese enterprise in West Africa. Meanwhile, in 1471, Portugal

had gained possession of Tangier, in Morocco. In recognition of such progress, the Pope conferred on John II the title of "Lord of Guinea." Still more important was the establishment of a settlement, in 1482, at El Mina, which, as to priority among European colonies in Africa, holds the same relation as does the colony at St. Augustine in the history of the United States. The Portuguese fortress of El Mina stands to the present day. Thus began the acquisition of African territory by a European state.

By the year 1484, a Portuguese expedition, commanded by Diego Cam, made its way southward to the Congo, and sailed up that river into the interior. Nor should failure be made to notice the presence of Martin Behaim, the German globe-maker, among the men of Cam's fleet. Now it was, in the year 1485, that Bartholomeu Diaz made his way to the extreme of the continent, and saw the Cape of Storms. The rest was easy. In 1487, Pero de Covilham succeeded in sailing down the Red Sea, out into the Indian Ocean, and thence to the Malabar coast. Vasco da Gama then appeared on the scene, and in 1497 set out on his famous voyage of successful circumnavigation. The Cape was doubled and the Indies were found. Thus did the western coast, the southern coast, and the eastern coast, from Lorenzo Marquez to Cape Guardafui, become the right and possession of Portugal. Before Magellan had succeeded in passing the southern extremity of South America, the claim of Portugal to the vast and indefinite coast of Africa on the west and south and east was established by her enterprise.

The coincidence of this great work with the discovery of America by Columbus and his successors was of historical importance. The student of American history will readily recall the sad fate which soon overtook the inhabitants of the West Indies. They were

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.



**COLONIAL MINISTER CHAMBERLAIN.**

reduced to slavery, and were virtually exterminated by the rapacious Spaniards. In a short time the rising industries in the islands, whether in field or in mine, were paralyzed and extinguished for the want of laborers. Then the Africans were substituted; for the Portuguese had found the Africans. Most unsuccessful and horrible was the collapse of the slave-system as applied to the native races of the West Indies and the American continent. But strangely enough, just at this juncture, Africa was made known with its millions of dark inhabitants, inured to the heats and fevers of the tropics. These millions, sad to relate, offered to the insatiable greed of the Europeans a prodigious store of slaves—a store which four centuries of mingled rapacity and progress have not exhausted.

As for Da Gama, he passed leisurely up the eastern coast of Africa on his way to India. In December of 1497, he landed about the 30th parallel of south latitude, inspected the country, and gave it the name of NATAL (*Terra Natalis*). Further on he touched again, first at Sofala, then at Mozambique, then at Melinde, and then at Mombasa. All along this coast he found inhabitants, mostly Semitic Arabians, but in some places mixed Arabians and Hamites. The voyage and its results might well confirm the claim of the Portuguese to Africa, from the southern Cape to the Gulf of Aden.

Great energy was at first displayed by the King of Portugal and his adventurous navigators. Colonization was contemplated and planned as a result of the new discoveries. Many parts of the African shores seemed to invite settlement and to promise the greatest rewards to enterprise. As early as 1485, Diego Cam, returning to Lisbon from the country of the Congo, had brought a company of natives with him, and these might well excite the hope of a profitable slave-trade. The country about the mouth of

the great river was designated as the Kingdom of Congo. Thither a company of priests was sent, and many of the natives were converted to Christianity. The capital of the country was entered by the Portuguese, who gave to it the name of San Salvador.

A farcical game, smacking much of opera-bouffe, but characteristic of Portuguese schemes of colonization, was now played by the Portuguese with the blacks of the Congo. Titles of nobility were conferred upon them. They became Dukes and Lords and Knights, each after his kind! Nor did the Portuguese experience any serious difficulty in getting on harmoniously with the simple-minded aborigines of the country which they had found and subdued.

In the course of half a century, San Salvador became the principal seat of Portuguese power on the western coast. The town took on a European character. The Portuguese tongue was heard in the streets. Once, in the middle of the sixteenth century, one of the native races, called Jaggas, made war on San Salvador and took the city. But the invaders were at length expelled, and prosperity returned. The native king was held in honor. But European buildings, such as cathedrals and monasteries and opulent residences, grew to be the principal features of the city, which, by the year 1650, was estimated to contain a population of forty thousand.

Around this center, lay a vast and undefined territory, including the modern state of Angola. Gradually the Portuguese authority was acknowledged as superior to that of the native rulers; but in course of time the jealousy of the latter was aroused, and the suzerainty of the Europeans was renounced in the kingdom of Congo. Nor were the Portuguese in the latter part of the seventeenth century, or ever afterwards, able to regain their forfeited influence in the Congo valley.

The city of San Salvador, so full of promise three hundred years ago, does indeed survive to the present day, but it has lapsed, under the government of the aborigines, into a common African town of mud-huts, with scarcely a vestige of the European institutions which formerly prevailed. Only the language of the people preserves a residue of Portuguese phraseology. The king of Congo bears the European name of *Pedro*; and a few other reminiscences remind the traveler of the great work which was effected in the age of discovery.

While San Salvador still flourished, namely, in the year 1578, St. Paul de Loanda, on the upper Angolan coast, just above the tenth parallel of south latitude, was founded. Afterwards a colony was planted at Benguela, also in Angola; and in the same period a permanent European settlement was effected at Mossamedes. Thus, gradually, was the dominion of Portugal confirmed southward to the Orange river and the Cape of Good Hope.

In the year 1505, an expedition under command of Pedro de Anhaya, was sent out by the Portuguese monarch to take possession of the eastern coast. Anhaya sailed around the continent to Sofala, just south of the 20th parallel, and landing at that place built a fortress. The king of Sofala yielded to the invader, and acknowledged himself as a tributary to the king of Portugal. Nor should the reader fail to note that the situation of the colony here referred to is central to that modern territorial division of Africa which, extending from Tongaland to Cape Delgado, is designated as Portuguese East Africa.

The work of colonization went forward rapidly. In 1507 a fleet, commanded by Tristan da Cunha, took possession of Socotra and Lamu. These places were fortified to become centers of colonial

enterprise. About the same time, the first European fortress was built in Mozambique. In 1508, the Portuguese gained complete possession of Quiloa. The whole coast of Africa lying to the west, over against Madagascar, passed under the dominion of the Portuguese crown, the claim being confirmed by both discovery and colonization.

The country was worth possessing. It was already held by populous communities. These were composed of Mohammedan Arabs. The native settlements were centralized. Each town had its sheik, or governor, whose authority was undisputed. Several sheiks were united, but not closely, under the authority of a sultan. The work of colonization by the Portuguese was prosecuted with so much zeal, that by the year 1520, when, as we have said, Ferdinand Magellan was still struggling hard to make his way through the channels that separate South America from the Land of Fire, the whole of the African coast, except that part which borders on the Mediterranean and on the Red Sea, had yielded to the sceptre of King Emanuel.

It should be noted, however, as a historical fact of importance, that Portugal for some reason avoided, or at least did not seek, the Cape of Good Hope as one of the centers of her colonial empire. Though the opportunity lay open for a long time, no Portuguese colony was planted at or near the Cape. This part of the country remained an inviting field for the future rivalries and contests of nations, and they have not been slow to seek the vantage of such a seat of power.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PORTUGUESE ASCENDENCY

It is not our purpose to include in this narrative the vicissitudes of Portuguese expansion in the East Indies. It is the African colonization which we are to consider. The voyages of the Portuguese navigators, however, extended everywhere. The flag of King John and Emanuel was seen in India. Thither, in the beginning of the sixteenth century the imperial plan was stretched. In 1503, Alfonso du Albuquerque, surnamed the Portuguese Mars, was commissioned as Viceroy of India. In that capacity he sailed with a fleet of twenty ships and made his way by the recently discovered all-water route to the coast of Malabar.

Albuquerque made a descent on the Indian city of Goa. This important place he invested and captured from the native rulers. He carried with him a crew and a colony numbering twelve hundred men. A native prophecy had indicated a downfall of the city at this date, and Albuquerque was easily able to avail himself of the superstition and to make a triumphal entry. Goa soon became the emporium of India. Portuguese institutions were established, not only there, but on the whole of the Malabar coast—at Ormuz, in Ceylon, in the Sunda islands, and on the peninsula of Malacca.

Prosperous commercial centers were soon developed under the patronage of the mother kingdom. For a while Portugal gave promise of becoming the great colonizing and governing state of the world. Her success at this epoch, in gaining for herself the greater and better part of South America, was as phenomenal as

that on the western borders of India. There was a time in the sixteenth century when the Portuguese empire extended as an immense continental and insular dominion from the Malaccan peninsula to the head tributaries of the river Amazon. Only one thing the parent state seemed to lack, and that was the power of political organization. This she did not possess, at least in the measure that Great Britain has possessed it and demonstrated it in the history of the nineteenth century. Portugal permitted her colonial dependencies to remain isolated. Each dependent state pursued its own course, developing its resources without extraneous assistance, and flourishing by individual and local energy, rather than by a combination of powers working together for greatness. For this reason, among others, Lisbon did not become London.

It suffices to say that of all the states and kingdoms of Europe which sent out expeditions in the sixteenth century to discover new lands in distant parts of the world, and then sent other expeditions to colonize the favored regions, Portugal was easily the first in the extent and variety of her discoveries. She was also first in the peaceful success of her settlements, and in the almost boundless colonial empire which she established. If, at the present day, her dependencies be shrunk to a handbreadth, it has been for the lack, not of the imperial spirit, but for want of imperial ability.

Confining our attention, then, to the African dominion of Portugal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we find the chief seats of her dependent empire to be on the west coast. There the colonial activity was greatest. The western colonies extended from the Gulf of Guinea to the Cape. But the most enterprising and progressive of these lay between the mouth of the Congo and the modern Demaraland. Of these dependencies, Angola may be regarded as the chief.

From the coast, the dominion of the Europeans extended inland to an indefinite distance. In the central region the Portuguese came into contact with fabulous native kingdoms. One of the most important of these was called the Empire of Monomotapa. The lines of interior progress were mostly on the west coast in the valley of the Congo, and on the east coast in the valley of the Zambesi.

Except in the center of the continent and at the southern extremity, the Portuguese authority was unquestioned and unquestionable. As in our America of the sixteenth century, the issue was ever on between the Portuguese conquerors and the generally submissive natives. On the east coast there were already many opulent settlements and trading centers before the epoch of discovery. These nuclei of civilization were controlled by the Arabian and Indian merchants who conducted the commerce between Africa and the East.

In a military way Portugal sought to fortify her authority by constructing defences at certain points on the African coast. One of these was at Arguin, the small littoral island lying in latitude twenty degrees twenty-five minutes north. The Cape Verde islands were also made defensible. At El Mina, already referred to, a more considerable stronghold was established. It was the policy of the kingdom to open trade and develop the native resources of the country. To this end, factories were built on the banks of the Senegal; also, on the Gambia, on the Rio Grande, on the Gold Coast, on the Gulf (or Bight) of Benin, and on the Congo. All of the shore islands, from the Canaries to the Cape, were possessed and settled by Portuguese colonists.

From the various centers of manufacture and trade, an abundant commerce was developed by the mother country. Had the humanities of enlightened enterprise been predominate over the avarice of

merchants and adventurers, a happier issue must have been reached in the commercial destinies of the kingdom. But all kinds of merchandise soon gave place to the merchandise in men. The Portuguese slave trade of the sixteenth century far exceeded in extent and profitableness all other forms of commerce. From the very beginning of the colonial expansion of the kingdom, ships returned to the home harbors laden with slaves. A half century before the discovery of America and the circumnavigation of Africa, nearly a thousand kidnapped negroes had been marketed in Portugal.

In 1517, a Flemish trader received a patent from Charles V openly authorizing him to import annually 4,000 negro slaves into the West Indies. This signified that all of the human merchandise must be purchased from, or taken in defiance of, the Portuguese traders on the African coast. A slave exchange was opened in Lisbon under authority of a bull from the Pope! In that mart negroes might be purchased by the hundred and thousand. Thither came the exporters who shipped the slaves to the New World markets. The trade grew to enormous proportions. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese dealers sent out as many as 12,000 slaves annually to the West Indies. It was from this horrible origin that the black populations of Hayti, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica and Porto Rico have been derived. The commerce was lucrative in the highest degree. The slave hunters had only to penetrate the wild and capture their human game, driving great gangs of the blacks down to the coast, and sending them to their fate under the lashes and goads of the Spanish overseers on the plantations.

Already African gold had been found in moderate abundance. The gold coast yielded a fair measure of the precious metal and of ivory from the interior. The mines began to be worked, and African

*Courtesy of The Christian Herald.*

**PRESIDENT KRUGER PREACHING IN THE CHURCH AT PRETORIA.**



gold was once more seen in the markets and mints of Europe, as it had been a thousand years before the Christian era. The ancient dream of Ophir was not realized, however, and the gathering and exportation of gold yielded a more modest profit than did the commerce in slaves. The gold trade declined, but the slave market was ever full.

At length the cupidity of other kingdoms was inflamed by the commercial success of Portugal and her dependent colonies. The fleets of several nations began, in defiance of the rights of discovery and the bull of Pope Alexander, to make descents on the African coasts. The Portuguese, however, were able for a long time to beat off the intruders, and to monopolize all the advantages of prior occupation.

The possessions of Portugal in West Africa were designated as "Barbary." The illicit trade with the country so-called, dangerous as it was, greatly increased. It was in this age, namely, in the year 1553 (that being the last year of the reign of Edward VI), that the first English fleet was fitted out for the West-African trade. This was done under the auspices of a club of the merchants of London. The leader of the expedition which they planned was Captain Windham, who found the Portuguese to be greatly offended when he appeared in the Gulf of Guinea. The English were visited with threats and violence, but they nevertheless succeeded in reaching the Gold Coast, where Windham, according to his own story, secured a hundred and fifty pounds of gold, and carried it back safely to his patrons; but in a second adventure he came to grief at the hands of the enemy. The successor of Windham in the gold trade was Captain John Lok, who reached the African coast with a cargo of cloth, which he bartered for spices, ivory and gold. He is said to

have exported four hundred pounds of the precious metal and two hundred and fifty elephant tusks, besides spices and gems.

These dangerous intrusions of the English traders were kept up during the after half of the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, French merchant ships also were seen in the African waters, but they were easily beaten off by the Portuguese on land, and by the hardier English on the sea. In 1555, Captain William Towrson, of London, made a successful venture to the Portuguese settlements, not hesitating to visit El Mina. But he was at length attacked and driven away. The Portuguese were able to hold their commercial monopoly in South Africa by establishing fortresses at intervals along the coast. By this means they easily subdued the barbarous natives on the one hand, and warded off the encroachments of foreign adventurers on the other.

The peculiarity of the epoch immediately succeeding the age of discovery was the fact that all the European nations except Portugal found their opportunity in the west. Spain, England, France, Holland, each and all, liberated their adventurers in the direction of the new world. Only the Portuguese turned systematically to the south and the east. The signs of this division of enterprise were seen before the death of Columbus. The Pope, therefore, had substantial grounds for assigning the eastern half of the globe to Portugal.

The situation which followed was the historical result of these antecedents. It was not until the age of Elizabeth that the English seriously contemplated a disturbance of conditions in the colonial empire of Portugal. In the very year of the destruction of the Spanish Armada (1588) the English queen granted to certain of her noble subjects a charter for the creation of the first "African

Company." It was the beginning of an age in which such charters and such companies abounded. By its constitution, the African Company was authorized to enter unoccupied regions on the coast, and to establish trade and settlements according to opportunity and promise of success.

Already, before this movement was well under way, the natives of the Senegal Valley had risen against the Portuguese, seized their factories, and had virtually driven them from the country. On the river Gambia, however, the flag of Portugal was still upheld by vigorous hands, and strong efforts were made to prevent the English African Company from getting a foothold. It was only by beating up and down the coast that the fleet of England was able to open a precarious trade and to secure a valuable cargo of merchandise.

The sequel showed that the French had already gained admittance to the country, and a measure of favor at the hands of the Portuguese. The latter could not be expected much longer to retain their unshaken hold on the continent; for the mother country had by this time lost her independence. While the African, East Indian, and South American colonies of Portugal had waxed strong, the home kingdom had first entered a period of decline and had then reached a crisis of total absorption in the wider empire of Spain.

As early as the reign of John III, who succeeded Emanuel in 1521, the weakening of Portugal had begun. Her success in establishing a great empire, south and east and west, had proved too much for the enfeebled virtue of both court and people. A few years after the date referred to, namely, in 1536, the Inquisition was introduced into Portugal, and while wealth abounded in the palaces and streets of Lisbon, the old spirit of the people was awed into silence and inactivity by the "Tribunal of the Holy Office."

From this date, the East Indian empire of the Portuguese rapidly declined. In 1545, the fortunes of the kingdom in the east were revived somewhat by John de Castro, who was Viceroy at Goa. After his ascendancy, the reaction against the Portuguese power in India continued unchecked. Meanwhile, in the home kingdom, in the year 1557, Don Sebastian, a child three years old, succeeded John III as king of Portugal. Under the reign of a minor and the regency of a queen and a cardinal, the affairs of the government went from bad to worse. In 1578, Sebastian, grown to manhood, was slain in a battle with the Moors, and Cardinal Henry, brother of John III, became Henry I. But the revolution in favor of Spain was now on in full force, and two years after the accession of Henry, the smaller kingdom was incorporated with the greater. Portugal was reduced to a province of Spain.

It had not, however, been reserved for the Spanish monarchy to absorb the outlying colonies and dependencies of Portugal. Nor was the Spanish kingdom, now engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Netherlands, in a condition to assume the governments of Western India, Southern Africa, and Brazil. So the Portuguese colonies remained in a semi-independent condition until the valor of the Dutch gave them the mastery of the seas.

The union of Portugal with Spain continued from 1580 to 1640. The Portuguese writers designate the period as the "sixty years' captivity." The other European nations—the English, the Dutch, the French—availed themselves of the political prostration of Portugal to assail her dependencies. It was at this time that Faro, the seaport of Algarve, was sacked by the English. The colonial possessions were nearly all invaded. The Portuguese East Indian empire melted away. In 1594-95, Pernambuco, the capital of the

maritime state of the same name in Brazil, was ravaged. Fort Arguin was taken in the same year, and the Azores in 1596. The flourishing trade of the Portuguese on the west coast of Africa was almost destroyed. Even the Danes made their way to the African waters and established themselves at Tanquebar, where they built a factory.

At length in 1640, national independence was restored under the auspices of the House of Bragança. On the 13th of December in that year, John IV was crowned as sovereign, and the Spaniards were expelled from the kingdom. The revolution came in time to prevent the total extinction of the colonial empire of Portugal; indeed from the middle of the seventeenth century, the foreign interests of the mother state revived sufficiently to ensure the confirmation of Portuguese power at several places on the African coast. And it is out of these conditions that the territorial dominion of the mother country still holds a respectable place among the European provinces of the Dark Continent.

When the territorial and political condition of modern Africa was determined by the treaty of Vienna, in 1815, the Portuguese possessions in the South were recognized and guaranteed. Neither the French ascendancy under Napoleon, nor the reäction against his empire sufficed to subvert an authority which had been so well established two centuries before. At this time, namely in 1815, the Portuguese colonies were principally those having for their centers the mouth of the Congo on the west, and the city of Sofala on the east. The apposition of these two seats of influence, though so widely removed, was such as to warrant a vague claim on the part of Portugal to *the whole continent lying between*. But such claim was never recognized by the European nations.

In the early part of the century, however, extensive explorations were made by the Portuguese into the interior from Angola on the western coast and Mozambique on the eastern. One or two expeditions traversed the continent from side to side. It is said that stations were established along the line of the Zambesi in the very heart of Africa. At any rate, the recent period was ushered in with the African possessions of Portugal as distinctly marked as those of any other European power. So that when the first great partition of modern Africa was undertaken by the powers at the Berlin conference of 1884, Portugal had to be recognized with a proportion of African territory wholly incommensurate with the insignificant size and fourth-rate rank of the mother kingdom.

In the first place, the Azores and Madeira islands were conceded at the Berlin Conference. Then in the old Gambia region, at about ten degrees of north latitude, a portion of coast, with some of the littoral islands, was assigned to Portugal in recognition of her ancient claims. In the Gulf of Guinea, also, the islands of Prince and St. Thomas remained a Portuguese appanage. From the mouth of the Congo southward to Cape Frio, in latitude eighteen degrees south, the country of ANGOLA was constituted, being the most important of all the African possessions of Portugal.

From Cape Frio around the southern coast and northward along the eastern coast, as far as the twenty-seventh degree of south latitude, the territory was divided among the other European powers; but at the northern extremity of Tongaland the Portuguese authority was again recognized, and from that point northward to Cape Delgado, just below the tenth parallel, the maritime country of Mozambique was constituted as PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA. This territory still holds its rank and occupies a most important

relation to the conflict which has broken out in the South African Republic.

The Maputa river traverses Portuguese East Africa at the south, and falls into Delagoa Bay. On the north of this water is situated the old Portuguese colonial town of Lorenzo Marquez. The Limpopo River, which constitutes a part of the northern boundary of the South African Republic, flows for more than two hundred miles through Portuguese East Africa before reaching the ocean. Further along the coast is the important town of Inhambane, and just below the twentieth parallel of south latitude is the ancient colonial seat of Sofala, with the nearby capital of Beira. From the latter point to the western boundary of the country, a railway has been completed, and thence a line is under construction as far as Salisbury, in Rhodesia. Through a distance of about three hundred miles, Portuguese East Africa borders the South African Republic on the east, and thus separates that important country from the sea.

Thus much then, remains to the present day, of the ancient Portuguese possessions in Africa: Angola and Portuguese East Africa. Notwithstanding the restriction of these possessions to the two coasts, east and west, it is nevertheless possible for travelers or merchants to make their way eastward from Mossamedes in Angola into the interior as far as the river Zambesi, one tributary of which borders Angola on the east. From that point it is practicable to descend the Zambesi across the continent by way of Victoria Falls to the western boundary of Portuguese East Africa at Zumbo, and thence with the expanding river to the great delta at its confluence with the Indian Ocean, about the eighteenth parallel south.

Though at the present time the Portuguese possessions and

claims are not so much obtruded into the historical foreground as are the claims of some of the other powers, the former are nevertheless of great importance as a part of those African territories, the possession of which is to be determined by the sword.

CECIL RHODES.

PRESIDENT AND MRS. PAUL KRUGER.

## CHAPTER III

### THE DUTCH ENTER AFRICA

Among modern maritime nations, Holland is second to one only, England. Her geographical position and the genius of her people have conspired to give her this enviable rank. Once and again the Dutch have been, not second, but first in the domination of the sea. This was in the seventeenth century, when the fleets of England herself, went back before the prowess of Van Tromp and De Ruyter. Time was in a still earlier age, when Dutch ships were second to none in their ocean flight to distant lands, whether to the Indies in the East, or to the frozen bay of Hudson, in North America.

The rise of the Netherlands to influence at home and abroad dates from their great revolt against Spain in the year 1581. Long and dreadful was the contest which ensued. The Dutch were tried by fire and by water; for some perished in the flames of the Inquisition, while hundreds were drowned in their own North Sea, for the inrushing of which the patriot leaders had broken the dyke.

For nearly seventy years the conflict of the Dutch rebels with their merciless adversaries continued. But they issued from their war of independence with hosannas and flying banners. Then their fearless spirit carried them forth to the ends of the earth. Long before the treaty of Westphalia (1648), when the independence of the Dutch Netherlands was finally acknowledged and guaranteed, the mariners of Holland had become conspicuous for their abilities as discoverers, explorers and colonizers. North America received their

impress. The Indies, East and West, knew their forceful visitations, and Africa felt their tremendous impact.

The revolt of the Netherlands occurred coïncidentally with the absorption of Portugal by Spain. With this event all Portuguese interests, whether at home or abroad, became constructively the interests of the Spanish crown. In her long war with the armies of Philip II, Holland might well attack the Portuguese possessions, since they were the dependencies of Spain. The situation as well as the spirit of the race brought the Dutch fleets to bear against the Portuguese, and made the colonial empire of the latter an easy spoil. Such was the condition which led inevitably to the overthrow of the East Indian dominion of Portugal, and the substitution therefor of the Oriental empire of the Netherlands.

The same thing virtually occurred on the coasts of Africa. Here the Dutch became the aggressors and the conquerors. The first trading expedition was sent out from the North Sea to Guinea in the year 1595. The ships of the Portuguese and the Spaniards could not withstand the onset of the hardy Dutch captains who assailed them. Neither could the French and English fleets bear the pressure of the new sea-power rising from the northern ocean.

In a short time, West Africa became the prey of the Dutch. In the first place, the island of Goree, belonging to France, situated off the coast of Senagambia south of the Cape Verde group, was purchased, colonized, and fortified. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company, successor of the Dutch East India Company, was chartered, and from that time forth the fleets of Holland made their way west, south and east. They came upon the Atlantic coast of Africa, and there wrought havoc with the settlements of other nations.

In 1637, El Mina, the old stronghold of Portugal on the Gold

Coast, was captured by the Dutch. Soon afterwards Axim was taken, and the other forts of the European colonists fell one by one. Wherever the Dutch landed, they first subdued and then fortified. Their charter gave them the monopoly of trade from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope. They proceeded accordingly to make valid their claim by conquest. They built forts at intervals all the way from Arguin southward to the extremity of the continent. The gold coast was, in particular, made secure against the onset of rivals and enemies. Between Cape Blanco and St. Paul de Loanda more than two score forts and stations had been established, and of these the Dutch gained possession of sixteen.

Then followed the opening of trade, or, rather, the transfer of the trade which the Portuguese had already established to the merchant ships of Holland.\* At first the commerce was mostly of gold and ivory and pepper. But it was not long until the Dutch merchants yielded to the same temptation, before which, they of Lisbon and London had sunk into utter depravity. The slave coast promised richer reward than did the coast of gold. The man-trade was more enticing than the trade in tusks and pepper-pods. This thing, indeed, had been contemplated from the very first; for the company was chartered as the Dutch West India Company. Why *West India*?—why, but to hint at the slave trade as the principal business for which the company was licensed? For a long time, the merchant ships of Protestant Holland were laden to the water with their cargoes of human chattels.

Great was the enmity of England on this score. Fain would the

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\* The commerce of the Portuguese, according to their own report, was described as "a very great and advantageous inland trade for some hundreds of miles." Nearly all of this, now went to the Dutch, and the saying got abroad, that the Portuguese were the "dogs which chased the game out of the jungle, in order that the Dutch might take it."

English ships have had a share in the profitable man-trade. The British planters in the West Indies mouthed not a little because the Dutch slave-ships brought only the refuse of their traffic to them. They got only the poorer sort of slaves, while the better were sold in Hayti and Cuba. The Dutch were monopolists in this traffic, and the English traders believed in no monopoly save their own. How, hardly, would the latter consent to pay £20 per head for slaves, when with an African port of free entry for their own ships, negroes could be bought or taken for fifty shillings each! Nor do the writings of the times indicate any sentiment respecting the nefarious merchandise other than the desire to make therefrom the greatest possible profit!

During the early part of the seventeenth century, the situation here described, continued to prevail in the Dutch-African dependencies. Frequently in this age, the European nations were so greatly complicated by war and intrigue, that their outlying possessions were neglected, if not forgotten, in the deadlier struggle of armies and navies close to the home kingdoms. Thus, for example; in the Cromwellian era, what could be expected but that the attention of England and the proximate continental states should be absorbed in the vicissitudes of that momentous conflict? Soon afterwards, Holland and England were engaged in a death-grip on the sea. By a strange turn of events, however, when the Revolution of 1688 came, William the Stadtholder of the Netherlands, while retaining his continental rank, became King of England. The fleets of the kingdom and the republic were brought into union for fifteen years. For a considerable period the two countries made common cause on both land and sea, contending in a masterful way against the inordinate ambitions of Louis XIV of France. Even on the African coast, the English and

Dutch rivalries were abated, not to break out again until after the death of William III.

In the meantime, however, Holland had been keenly alert to extend her influence in South Africa. Having obtained possession of the Portuguese East Indian dominions, and having a secure hold on the west coast, she now sought to establish herself at the southern extremity of the continent. She was able to perceive that the Cape of Good Hope, would be, and remain the midway station between the Occident and the Orient. Accordingly, in 1652, the Dutch established themselves at the Cape. The advantages of the situation were at once perceived both by the colonists and the public men of Holland, who promoted the enterprise.

The patronage of the Dutch government was freely extended to the new dependency; immigration from the home kingdom was encouraged. Meanwhile the Dutch East India Company, directed by Jan Van Riebeeck, under whose immediate patronage the colony at the Cape had been planted, did little to promote, but much to restrict, the *growth* of the dependency. What the company desired was a trading station and not a new state. The settlement of the Dutch was made on the site of the present Cape Town, and the jurisdiction extended only a few miles into the interior.

Here it was that another point of contact was found by the Europeans with the native populations. The latter were blacks of the blackest type. The old name of the tribes occupying this part of the country was Qua-Qua, or Khoi-khoi, but for some reason this name was supplanted by that of Hottentots. The latter word seems to have been invented as an onomatopoetic imitation of the stammering cluck with which the native speech is pronounced. It was a language of hot-en-(and)-tot. The aborigines were one of the

three lowest varieties of human beings; only the neighboring Bushmans and the natives of Australia could compete with them for the foot of the class.

Gradually, but slowly, the Dutch extended their authority over the Cape country. The natives were driven into the interior, or were reduced to slavery. There was already at the Cape a thin distribution of Europeans, consisting of a melange of Portuguese, Flemings, Germans, and even Poles. But these were few in numbers, and were generally a low kind, intermixed with the natives. They were unable to oppose the robust Dutch, but the latter were not sufficiently aggressive and enterprising to convert South Africa into a great commonwealth.

As the event here referred to, namely, the establishment of a permanent Dutch settlement at the Cape, was the beginning of that process of colonization which has given the Boer cast to large districts in the region under consideration, we may look at the characteristics of this peculiar race. They were from the first a resolute but strongly conservative people. They had the agricultural instinct; they preferred the country life and production, to commerce and adventure. They desired to be let alone. They were annoyed with the restrictions which the East India Company imposed upon them. That company had a most tyrannical method which it applied in the government of all its posts and settlements. It did not hesitate to declare what kind of industries the colonists should follow. They should plant this crop, and should not plant the other. As for taxation, that was exorbitant. Hardly could the thrift of the Dutch farmers, handicraftsmen, and small traders, answer the demands of the despotic organization which controlled them.

In order to meet the requirements of their condition, the Boers treated the natives with severity, and gradually took possession of a considerable district of the Hottentot country. Many of the blacks were reduced to slavery. The slave contingent was increased by the importation of both Malays and negroes. On the whole, while the local industry was sufficient, and while the contentment of the African Dutch was marked, the colony was not "progressive," and therefore it did not harmonize with the spirit and purpose of the English who came after them.

Such were the conditions in the original settlement from which the Boer countries of South Africa have drawn, in large measure, their present character. The interval from 1652 to 1686 may be designated as the first period of the Dutch ascendancy at the Cape. In the last named year, a new element was added to the population, very accordant withal with the spirit of the Dutch colonists. The Protestant Huguenots of France, escaping from the dreadful persecutions to which they were subjected after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, sought peace in the ends of the earth. One refuge was in America, and another was at the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch received them willingly, and a certain enthusiasm came with the importation of Gallic blood.

The Boers, who may from this period be regarded as native and to the manner born in South Africa, became a separate people. They grew more and more restive under the exactions of the Dutch East India Company, to which corporation the home government gave the right of control, and at length, they rebelled against this state of affairs. They went so far as to adopt the policy of removing beyond the colonial borders in order to escape from the tyrannical rule to which they were subjected.

This policy of the Dutch, now becoming Boers, was first adopted before the close of the seventeenth century. Boer settlements began to be formed across the boundary. A movement took place among them in all respects analogous to that of the removal of the American colonists westward through the wilderness. It was this condition which in both South Africa and America has thrust the more liberty-loving people further and further into the interior. In all ages, human freedom has sought the frontier as a refuge from the despotism and mercenary control of the older communities.

The policy, thus adopted by the Boers two centuries ago, has been pursued by them ever since. Their first escape was from the tyrannous rule of their own government. They first colonized an interior district called Graaf-Reinat, and whenever afterward the colonial government, either Dutch or British, has encroached upon the interior provinces, the Boer population has followed the policy of receding before the aggressive foreign power, choosing independence rather than empire.

During the early part of the eighteenth century, the Gamtoos River was adopted and held by the Dutch as the eastern limit of their territory. This stream had hitherto been accepted by the Hottentots and the Kaffirs as the boundary line between them. The Gamtoos, therefore, became the demarcation between the Dutch on the west, and the Kaffir nations on the east. This vent into new territory sufficed for colonial expansion until the year 1740, when the Boers crossed over the Gamtoos into the Kaffir territory, and began to make settlements in that country. A clash ensued, and the natives were obliged to recede, though the Boers did not try to oppress them. The country was wide and sparsely inhabited, and thus gave opportunity for colonization by the European intruders.

PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN.



The movement of the Dutch inland, from Cape Colony towards the Kaffir country and through it in the direction of the Orange River, thence to the Vaal and the Buffalo, and finally to the Limpopo, began before the middle of the eighteenth century and continued until the Orange Free State and South African Republic were constituted as the seats of the Boer concentration. By the year 1780, this progressive drift of population had extended to the Great Fish River, which was for a period the Boer frontier. Such was the situation in 1795, when the colonists at the Cape, catching the fever of revolution from Western Europe, determined to free themselves from the dominion of the home kingdom. They revolted and declared independence.

The Dutch authorities were at this time hard pressed by the continental revolution which had extended into the Netherlands. Hereupon Great Britain, seeing the inability of the Dutch to keep their grip on South Africa, and fearing that that country might be seized by the French, sent a fleet to the cape and took possession of the country in the name of the Prince of Orange. Without much disturbance to the colonists, British authority was established over them. A British governor was appointed, and peace was maintained until 1802, when, by the treaty of Amiens, Cape Colony was restored to Holland.

Four years afterwards, the continental war broke out with more violence than ever, and the British, under Sir David Baird, again took possession in South Africa. This assumption was maintained for nine years, when it was confirmed forever, at the Congress of Vienna. A new map of the world was there constructed. Changes were effected in all the continents and in most of the archipelagos. Cape Colony was ceded by the King of the Netherlands to Great

Britain, together with Ceylon, Dutch Guiana, Mauritius, Tobago, Malta, and Helgoland. The aggregate result was to make the future possessions of the Dutch in South Africa *an inland dominion*. British Cape Colony was now made to extend from the mouth of the Orange River all the way around the southern bend of the continent to the mouth of the Tugela. As for the Boers, they virtually lost their *statehood* and became a *people*, without definite territorial demarcations.

Such is the story of the Dutch in South Africa down to the Berlin Conference of 1884. After that date, a number of European states appeared on the map, the history of each of which the Orange Free State and the South African Republic included, will be noted in subsequent chapters down to the time of the Jameson episode.

## CHAPTER IV

### GREAT BRITAIN GAINS A FOOTING

Little progress was made by England on the coast of Africa until after the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Restoration of the Monarchy. We have narrated the desultory adventures of Windham, Lok, and Towrson, acting under the patent given, in 1588, by Elizabeth to the first African company. Her successor, in 1618, granted a charter to a second company; but this enterprise also was comparatively barren of results. The second company did indeed make its way to the west coast, and from thence the English strove to reach the gold and gem-bearing mines of Timbuctoo.

It appears that the prevailing error in geography, which made the river Gambia, as well as the Senegal, to be a tributary of the Niger, prevented the expedition from reaching the goal. Other voyages and marches inland followed, but these also were attended with unsuccess. Meanwhile, the managers of the company became convinced that in the mixture of gold and fable with which they had been allured, the fable so outmeasured the gold as to suggest the abandonment of the enterprise.

The charter issued by King Charles I, in 1631, was hardly more successful than its predecessors in promoting the project of African colonization. This third company directed a commercial fleet to the valley of the Gambia. Trade was opened with the natives of that region, but the project of colonizing hardly proceeded beyond the plan. In the meantime, the English monarchy was assailed by the

insurgent people, and foreign enterprises were swallowed up in the swirl of revolution and civil war.

After the death of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, the resignation of his son, and the recall, in 1660, of Charles II to the throne of his ancestors, the English monarchy settled again into its accustomed habits, and enterprise abroad was slowly revived. In 1662, a *fourth* English African Company was chartered by the king. A fleet was sent into the river Gambia, and on James Island, in that stream, the first British fort within the boundaries of the dark continent was built. This event was coincident with the planting of their first colony by the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope. We have, in the preceding chapters, traced the vicissitudes of that settlement down to the time of its absorption by the British in the epoch of the Napoleonic wars. We have also seen a confirmation of that conquest by the Congress of Vienna. By that body Cape Colony was recognized as a British dependency, and from this event dates the beginning of the ascendancy of Great Britain in South Africa.

Territorially, and in a general way, the country known as Cape Colony is that region at the southern extremity of the continent bounded by the ocean, and, on the north, by the south branch of the Orange river. That river was contemplated, though not declared, as the northern limit by the ambassadors at Vienna in 1815. The map thus reconstructed, at the downfall of Napoleon, showed the unmistakable signs of the oncoming supremacy of Great Britain by land and sea. It indicated that her political power and commercial leadership should not again be seriously disputed until some new order should come into the world in obedience to those general historical laws by which the world is governed. Great Britain planted herself in

her South African dependency, and looked complacently across the illimitable sea—westward to South America, eastward to the Indies. She also *began* to look northward into the interior of the great continent upon which she had obtained so firm a footing.

Four years before the Congress of Vienna, the first trouble between the British and Kaffirs occurred. Savage peoples do not yield their sovereignty simply because of an assertion of white superiority. The Kaffirs observed the march of British enterprise and domination with suspicion and ill-concealed dislike. Many hardy men had penetrated far into the unknown interior, and it was easy for them to see that great wealth awaited there for those who had the courage to attempt its development. The Kaffir was much in the position of the American Indian—both had long been in the possession of an enticing portion of the earth's surface and both fiercely resented the invasion of the forces of civilization. The South African pioneers suffered much as the bold men who gave the great American West, with its agriculture, forests and mines, to the home-seekers and enterprise of the world. Several of these British explorers were killed by the Kaffirs. This was considered ample justification for punishing them. Then came their partial subjection.

The first Kaffir war of 1811 was succeeded by another in 1819, and this was concluded by the extension of the British boundaries to the river Keiskamma. For a while this expansion sufficed. In the next year after the war, emigration from the home kingdom set in. About five thousand British newcomers arrived at Algoa Bay on the southern coast. They spread around eastward and westward, and founded Grahamstown and Elizabeth. The site for the former city, which may be regarded as the metropolis of the eastern districts of Cape Colony, had already been selected as a headquarters

in 1812. Grahamstown is situated forty miles inland from the mouth of the Great Fish and Kowie rivers. Already, in 1819, the place had been attacked by the Kaffirs. Grahamstown was henceforth the center of what was called the "Albany Settlement." As the town developed it became, from its situation which is picturesque, from its style of buildings, and from the character of its inhabitants, the most English of all the South African towns.

Elizabeth was founded on the west side of Algoa Bay, on the projection called Point Elizabeth. This city, also, was destined in the course of the century to become a thriving seat of trade to which an extensive agricultural and pastoral region contributed many and valuable products.

The fourth decade of the nineteenth century is noted as the time at which slavery was abolished in the colonial dependencies of Great Britain. An agitation had come on in the home kingdom which not even Tory conservatism could longer resist. A measure was carried through Parliament to reduce West Indian slavery to a system of "apprenticeship," with compensation to the masters. In South Africa, the compensation was not necessary, since most of the slaveholders were not English but Boers. However just the action of Great Britain, it entailed great loss to the Boers.

Slavery was not particularly advantageous to the British merchants and adventurers, governors and soldiers of the countries of the Cape, but it was the favorite institution of the Boers. The abolition fell upon them and for the time disrupted their system. The Hottentots and Negroes whom the Boers had held in bondage escaped from their control. As a matter of fact, this was the first great measure which opened a fissure in the social and civil purposes of the Boers on the one side and the British on the other.

Already, as we have seen, the Boers had discovered the only feasible method of avoidance as it respected British aggression. This was to recede before the aggressors, and find new seats in the interior. The measure, however, was by no means agreeable to the governing class; for British policy does not willingly contemplate a reduced population. It is more profitable to harvest the resources of a thickly populated country than to gather commercial advantage from a sparsely settled or depopulated region.

The Boers found the method of removal advantageous, both as an escape from conditions which they did not like and as a protest against British aggression. Accordingly, when they lost their slaves in 1834, they prepared for emigration. In the following two years they sold their farms, getting for them whatever they could (generally only a tithe of what they were worth), and began an exodus from Cape Colony across the Orange River. The enterprise was attended with the greatest hardships. It might almost suggest the removal of the Mormons from the Mississippi to Great Salt Lake—though the distance of the migration of the Boers was incomparable to the other. The latter had to penetrate wild countries, crossing rivers and mountains, and combating with the fierce Kaffirs before they secured a safe footing within the country now known as NATAL.

The leader of the Boers in this anabasis through the wilderness was Peter Retief. The course of the migration lay across the Drakensberg range. Not only must the Boers contend with the Kaffirs for the new territory, but they were obliged to resist the Zulus on the other side.

The Dutch farmers evidently supposed that this exodus and the establishment of a Republic in Natal would forever rid them of the domination of the British. But it was not to be so, as

they had simply retreated into territory which Great Britain had more or less vaguely claimed as a part of her South African possessions. As early as 1842, the British power was felt in Natal. For six years, the Boer Republic maintained a quasi-independence; but British subjects entered the country, and then complained of the abuses to which they were subjected. Petitions were made to the authorities of Cape Colony in which Natal was represented as being in a lawless condition. It was alleged that the foreign population could not have their rights in the Boer Republic.

At this time Sir Harry Smith was Governor of Cape Colony, and to him the appeal of the British beyond the Orange was made. He accordingly declared that British sovereignty extended over Natal, and a military force was sent to make good the assumption. That part of the country which was occupied by the immigrant Boers was designated as the Orange River Sovereignty.

The Dutch people thus found themselves in the same predicament as before. Such was the animosity against the administration of Sir Harry Smith that the standard of rebellion was raised. The Boers now found a worthy leader in Andrew Pretorius, around whom the insurgents rallied, and them he led with an increasing throng across the Drakensberg Mountains. On the western side, the Boers who had remained in Cape Colony, rallied in great numbers, and the rebellion for a season seemed to promise success. But the British governor at the head of a division of troops entered the disturbed district beyond the Orange, and met the Boers at a place called Boem Plaats. Here a battle was fought, and the Dutch were defeated. They were not, however, destroyed, nor was their spirit broken. On the contrary, they clung to their

CAPE TOWN AND TABLE MOUNTAIN.

DARLING STREET, CAPE TOWN.

leader, and once more adopted the policy of receding before their enemies. They accordingly trekked before them to the north.\*

The Boers had believed that when they had crossed the Orange they would be safe from pursuit in Natal. They now conceived the project of escaping finally from the influence of that power which hung upon their rear. Now it was that under Pretorius another migration was undertaken, and this time the fugitives fixed their eyes on the distant river Vaal. To cross the Vaal seemed to promise ultimate and unbroken safety. It was foreseen that Great Britain might claim sovereignty *as far* as that stream. The Vaal, with the Buffalo as its tributary, is the great northern branch of the Orange, flowing west across the continent, and constituting to this day, in the greater part of its course, the northern boundary of Cape Colony and the Orange State.

The results of the movement of the Boers from Natal to the country beyond the Vaal, we shall reserve for consideration in the chapter devoted to the South African Republic. It should be noted here, however, that not all of the Boers, but only the unconquerable and irreconcilable part of the population, joined in the movement from the borders of Kaffraria toward the Vaal and beyond it. Great numbers remained in the broad territories between the two major branches of the Orange. These, however, did not cease to resent and resist the imposition of British authority. Their attitude towards the master power was such that the Cape Government began to

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\*The circumstances here narrated led to a curious bit of phraseology which has survived to the close of the century. Each withdrawal of the Boers was bitterly opposed by the governing British class, and confiscation and death were denounced against all who should attempt to *trek*; that is, to draw away or travel by wagon. The Dutch in their own speech, *trekked* away into the interior. They had great wagons, huge and schoonerlike, and long teams of oxen. The wagons were built so as to serve the purpose of removal and also of housing the occupants. The Boers for a season lived in houses on wheels. Their *trekking* into the interior was as picturesque as it was pathetic. To *trek* has been the resort of the Boers for more than half a century; it is their protest, as well as their style of travel.

hedge against the consequences of its own success. It was found to be well-nigh impossible to govern in a country, the people of which did not in some measure consent.

The trouble became at length so serious in the so called Orange River Sovereignty, that, in 1854, the government at Cape Town renounced the suzerainty, and the Boer settlers actually obtained control of their own country. The state of affairs had in the meantime produced a scandal in London. The home government, dissatisfied with results of Sir Harry Smith's administration, sent out Sir George Clerk, as special commissioner to make a complete remission of authority in the region north of the south branch of the Orange river.

The inhabitants of the country rejoiced greatly in the advantage which they had gained, and proceeded to organize the broad district south of the Vaal upon a basis which became in course of time the Orange Free State. The form of government was republican throughout. A president was elected by the people. Bloemfontein became the capital. A legislature, called in the vernacular the Volksraad, or People's Council, was chosen by a system of suffrage which was virtually universal. Thus, north of the Vaal and south of the Vaal, the foundations were laid for the two robust Boer republics of eastern South Africa.

About the time of these events, another matter, not territorial, but social, and yet of great importance, arose in the history of Cape Colony. In 1848, as the reader of general history will remember, the spirit of revolution was universal throughout Europe. The home kingdom of Great Britain was troubled not a little by the uprising. Ireland was distracted. Persecutions and prosecutions of political offenders became the order of the day. Crime other

than political also flourished. The jails and prisons were filled to repletion.

Just at this juncture, the vent for the disposal of criminals by their transportation to Australia was closed. The protests and resistance of the people of New South Wales and Tasmania prevailed over an expediency which was in itself a crime. Beating about for an alternative, the government in 1848 issued orders through the Secretary of State to deport the prisoners on hand "to such colonies as he (the Secretary) might think proper." A shipload of two hundred and eighty-nine convicts was accordingly made up and sent to Cape Colony. The cargo included among the "criminals" John Mitchel, the Irish revolutionist, who had been sentenced to fourteen years' banishment from England, who subsequently became in the United States a historical character, and finally attained a membership in Parliament.

The intelligence of the coming of a shipload of convicts produced great excitement at the Cape. The people became rebellious. The local newspapers fanned the flame. An Anti-Convict Association was formed, and the members pledged themselves to dwell not among, trade not with, touch not the garments of as many as were engaged in the nefarious business. The *Neptune*, that being the name of the convict ship, at last reached Simon's Bay, but was obliged to anchor off shore. The Governor tried to carry into effect the purposes of the home authorities, but he was thwarted by the people. Then he was obliged to wait until new orders should come from London.

Great Britain evidently had no desire to get embroiled in a serious altercation with her South African subjects over such a matter. The home government wisely receded from its position.

This incident had a much wider political significance than it would at first appear on the surface and the results were varied.

In the end the threatening affair in Cape Colony worked out its own solution. Orders were sent from England that the *Neptune* should proceed to Van Diemen's Land and discharge the convicts on that unresisting shore. It is, however, in the nature of movements of this kind, not to cease when they are satisfied. The reaction against an abuse, or an attempted abuse, in civil polity, carries far. The colonists at the Cape, having won their contention, proceeded to fortify, as it were, against another invasion of their rights. They demanded home government. Earl Grey, the colonial secretary, had already intimated his willingness to concede free representation and a local assembly to the people of the Cape. Accordingly, in 1853, a constitution was granted, and the present government of Cape Colony, quite liberal in its provisions, was established.

Already the growing power of Great Britain in South Africa had alarmed the inhabitants of all the neighboring native states. This was true in particular of the tribes inhabiting the region now known as Kaffraria. These people foresaw their own extinction or total suppression by the alien race. Delusions began to appear among them; their old ethnic superstitions were invoked, as if soothsayers could save the falling institutions of the fathers. A strange prophecy went abroad to the effect that *if the people would kill themselves*, they would presently rise from the dead, regenerated in strength, and that thus the nation might be redeemed.

This unprecedented method of defense was actually adopted by the West Kaffirs, and, according to the estimates, about fifty thousand men, being approximately one-third of the whole nation, committed suicide! All that part of Kaffraria next to Cape Colony was virtually

depopulated. The removal of these fierce men was naturally not considered as a great loss by the British, as it lightened the process of occupation, and new colonists were enabled to rush in and quickly open up the country. Thus were soon laid the foundations of British Kaffraria.

This uncanny event happened in 1857. At that time the European armies which had participated in the Crimean war were returning. Among the rest was a so-called "German legion," which had been attached to the British forces on the Black Sea. This legion, numbering about two thousand men, was released into Kaffraria, to leave a powerful social and industrial impression upon the material development and race character of the country. The local institutions, however, grew up in the British fashion, and after eight years that portion of Kaffraria here under consideration was incorporated with the major province. The new district was entitled the "Electoral Divisions of King William's Town and East London." This addition of territory, together with the growing interests of the commonwealth, called for an enlargement of constitutional privileges, and this was granted by the home government in 1865.

Not until after the middle of the present century did public enterprises become active in Cape Colony. In 1863, the first South African railway, extending from Cape Town to Wellington, was built, a distance of about seventy-five miles. Already, three years previously, the harbor in Table Bay had been made secure by the completion of the great breakwater which still protects it. More important, however, than any of the internal improvements was the discovery, in 1867, of the diamond fields in the districts north of the Orange River. The first finds were made in Griqualand, where the Vaal river bending around to the south, makes its way down to the Orange. As soon as

the first discoveries were announced, the whole world of adventure, wearying somewhat of California and Australia, held up its hands in joy. There was an eager rush into the land of promise, and Griqualand was at once annexed to the territories of the British crown!

The reader will not fail to note the location in this district, namely, in the bend of the Vaal between the Modder and the Garib, of the town and diamond-field of Kimberley. This region is likely to hold a conspicuous record as one of the critical points of modern history. The place, which was formerly called New Rush, is the capital of Griqualand West. Its development in the last quarter of the century has been one of the most remarkable commercial enterprises of the world. The diamond mining industry, in a large sense, dates from the year 1871. The town of Kimberley sprang into existence, and at the close of the ninth decennium had a fluctuating population of 28,000 people. In 1874, when the gold mines of Leydenberg in the Transvaal were discovered, almost the whole population of Kimberley made a rush for the new Eldorado, but the town soon filled up again, partly with natives, but mostly with transitory adventurers.

The exigencies of the affairs in the diamond fields made necessary the building of a railway from the mines to Cape Town. This line has been gradually extended in a direction east of north about seven hundred miles to Bulawayo, the capital of Rhodesia. The thoroughfare skirts the Orange Free State and the South African Republic on the west, and furnishes to Great Britain her longest and most important line of interior communication in the country below the 20th parallel of latitude.

The reference to the Cape Town and Kimberley railway suggests a further notice of the lines which have been developed in Cape

Colony, and from thence northward into the two free republics of the Dutch. At the Cape, a short line extends northward from False Bay to Malmesbury. On the west coast, from Port Nolloth to Ookiep, in Great Bushmanland, another short railway has been constructed. From Worcester, about eighty miles from Cape Town, a branch has been built in the direction of Ashton. Further north from De Aar, a branch has been laid to the point of intersection with the Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein railway. The latter is one of the most important in the country; for this line also stretches from Bloemfontein to Johannesburg, thence to Pretoria, and thence northward (partly uncompleted in 1899) to Pietersburg, in the north center of the South African Republic. From Pretoria a line runs almost due eastward to Lorenzo Marquez on Delagoa Bay. From Johannesburg an important railway extends in a southeasterly direction by way of Ladysmith and Pietermaritzburg to Durban, the capital and seaport of Natal. Finally, from East London on the coast, a line runs in a northerly direction to Aliwal, on the boundary of the Orange Free State; while another line reaches from Point Alfred, east of Elizabeth, to Naauw Poort, two hundred and seventy miles in the interior. In the building of these railways, the Imperial government came to the rescue in 1876, when a subsidy of five million pounds was voted to aid in the construction of the four trunk lines.

To all this should be added that the railway ambition of Cecil Rhodes and his coadjutors in the closing years of the century always contemplated the extension of the system, either from Pietersburg in the South African Republic, or from Bulawayo, in Rhodesia, northward through the valley of the Zambesi to the Sudan of Egypt, and finally, down the Nile to Cairo—a project

which, for the extent of country and difficulties to be surmounted, may well remind the reader of the enterprise of building the Canadian Pacific railway, as the problem stood at the time of the Confederation.

The development of British power in South Africa was seriously impeded in the sixth, seventh, and eighth decades, by the resistance of the native races. In this interval, one complication succeeded another. War followed war, but always ended with the advancement of the British frontier to the north and east.

In the first place, the Basutos, one branch of the Bechuana Kaffirs, became embroiled with the Boers, whom they fought, after the so-called Orange River Sovereignty was abandoned by the British. The continuance of the struggle gave the desired opportunity to the colonial government at Cape Town to secure the favor of the Basutos, who at length petitioned the British Government to take them in. The wing of Cape Colony was accordingly extended over Basutoland in 1868, and three years afterwards that region was incorporated as an integral part of the Cape territories.

The next additions to British South Africa were made in the years 1874-75. At this period, large districts of Kaffraria, both north and south, were added. East Griqualand, lying immediately south of Natal, was next incorporated. Generally these increments of territory, many of them large enough for the formation of great states, were obtained with the virtual consent of the inhabitants. The plausibility of the propositions made by the British authority, the promises of peace and better government, and the holding out of inducements for the local development of great industries, generally prevailed with the natives without a resort to war on the part of the stronger power.

OPENING RAILROAD TO BULUVAYO, NOV. 10<sup>th</sup>, 1877. 1,500 MILES TO CAPE TOWN.

THREE CHEERS FOR THE QUEEN.

Thus, at the conclusion of the eighth decennium, British authority in South Africa had extended northward to the line of the Orange River, and on the east to the southern border of Natal. By this time the attention of all the enlightened nations had been turned more than hitherto to this, the least civilized of the continents, and they began to consider, first tacitly, and then in open conference, the question, *what shall we do with it?*

Several circumstances and conditions contributed at this epoch to revive the interest of mankind in Africa. In November of 1871, Henry M. Stanley found David Livingstone at Ujiji. It was the beginning, not indeed of modern exploration and discovery, but rather of a more accurate knowledge than had ever before been attained by white men respecting the African interior.

David Livingstone had already been for more than twenty years an explorer in the Dark Continent. He had discovered Lake Ngami in 1849; Victoria Falls in 1855, Nyassa in 1859, Tanganyika in 1867, and Ujiji in 1869. One year and a half of life still remained to him after his rescue by Stanley. He died at Lake Bangweolo on the 30th of April, 1873; his body was transported to England for interment among the immortals of Westminster Abbey.

After Livingstone, Stanley himself became the greatest of recent explorers. In 1874 he was sent by the New York *Herald* and the London *Telegraph* to make an expedition into Central Africa. In the following year, he circumnavigated the Victoria Nyanza. In the years 1876-77, he discovered Albert Edward Nyanza, and finding the headwaters of the Congo descended that river to its mouth. This was the solution of the great problem. The general nature of the interior of Africa was henceforth known.

In 1879, Stanley was sent back under the patronage of the Inter-

national African Association to explore and colonize the valley of the Congo. For this great river he suggested the new name of Livingstone, and that name, at the present day, contends with Congo in geographical nomenclature. The indefatigable explorer was largely instrumental in founding the Congo Free State. Subsequently he participated in the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, which had been called to consider and solve, if practicable, the problem of Africa. Stanley's explorations and the books which he published, based as they were, partly on the preceding work of Livingstone, but more largely on the suggestions of his own adventurous genius, contributed greatly to the roused-up interest of the world in the African continent.

We may here consider for a moment the mainsprings of motive in the activity of men and nations, respecting the development of Africa, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The question brings us to the bottom philosophy of human nature; also, to the nature of communities, of peoples, of states and kingdoms. It is the peculiarity of our kind that the moral sense of the race has risen to a higher level than its practical action. The race knows better than it acts. Conduct is discordant with conscience and the discernment of right. The inner sense of right, therefore, in the individual, in the community, in the state, forces the action to ascribe to itself a false motive as its origin. The action is shamed when confronted with the real motive, and hypocrisy comes to the rescue. A large part of the intellectual ingenuity of mankind in modern times has been expended in inventing respectable motives, and in bolstering them up with sophisms in order that they may masquerade in the procession of truth and righteousness.

In the case before us, the parties principally concerned in the unfolding of Africa have all the time claimed that they are inspired

by the philanthropic consideration of civilizing barbarous races and redeeming a continent from savagery. In point of fact, the movements of the various parties have nearly all been inspired by the hope of advantage to the men, the organizations, and the states, which have patronized the several enterprises.

Perhaps this double-faced condition should not be too harshly judged. It is true that the higher forms of civilization do follow in the wake even of conquest. Progress is not *caused* by invasion, by subjugation, by the imposition of a higher race on the aborigines of a country; for that were impossible. Progress follows in spite of the evils done. That civilization should have this hard and criminal birth is one of the irreconcilable facts of our present fallible state. The suppression and extinction of the native races in a country by the incursion of the stronger nations can never be justified in the court of conscience, or at the bar of that immutable justice by which the world is said to be governed.

All that can be said, therefore, is that Destiny (whatever Destiny may mean) seems to have adopted the destroying forces, cruel as they are, in order to make a way for the higher life of mankind. And all that may be said for the actors is that they freely participate in the immoral drama of their age, doing unjustifiable deeds, promoting cruelty and rapacious aggression, and at the same time inventing excuses that may seem to justify or warrant the things done.

In this connection we should note also that the filling up of all the other continents had, at the epoch under consideration, suddenly brought the roving and adventurous part of mankind to a standstill. To this element of everlasting mutation and frontier battling, Africa offered a vent. There lay a vast continent into

which the modern sea-kings of the deep and the semi-brigand cohorts of the landside might turn and find satisfaction. The invitation was urgent. The American reader should not forget that the single valley of the Congo, from the falls to the sea, is as vast, as fertile, as promising in all the elements of human development, as is the valley of the Mississippi from the confluence of the Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico!

It is in the light of these facts and deductions that the African enterprises of the European nations in the eighth and ninth decades of our century must be understood. Africa was the only remaining field for adventure. The rush turned thither because it must. In America, the vast countries west of the Mississippi had been opened and traversed in the preceding interval. The Pacific railways had freely discharged the millions into the Western States and Territories. The Pacific shores were reached, and there *thus-far* was written in the sands. Africa remained. And after Africa? The future shall reveal, in several ages of war and bloodshed and readjustment, what the nations will then do to appease the unquenchable spirit which has thus far sought and found equipoise and satisfaction in the discovery and conquest of new lands. Will the nations turn upon each other and conquer and exterminate until only one remains? Perhaps that one will be lonesome in the waste!

Returning from this digression, a few words may be added relative to the evolution of civil government in Cape Colony and the annexed territories under British rule. It should be remembered that fundamentally the civil organization was Dutch. In the Dutch epoch a simple style of government had been invented. The administrative powers consisted of a governor called the

*Landrost* and a council called the *Heemraaden*. The governor and his council attended not only to executive, but also to judicial duties. The method was so autocratic that, in 1827, the British authorities, who had accepted the system from their predecessors, abolished it. For the next ten years, the judicial functions were separated from the governor and his council board.

In 1837, a still larger reform was effected by the establishment of a legislative council. This form of government continued in force until the new constitution was promulgated in 1853. By this instrument the civil system was made more regular and efficient. The governor, appointed by the Colonial Secretary, should hold his office for six years. The legislative body should be constituted of two chambers; a council and a popular assembly. Eligibility to office and the electoral franchise should be guarded by stout property qualifications.

In the year 1873, there was an electoral reform by which the constituencies throughout the colony were equalized in representative capacity. The property qualifications, however, were retained under the new system, which included, as one of its features, a local ministry responsible to the colonial parliament. Legislation proceeds from the parliamentary body, but is subject to the approval of the governor who acts in the name of Her Majesty the Queen. Important measures are subject to the reversal and review of the Imperial government within two years after their enactment.

In the meantime, a military system was promoted in Cape Colony in coördination with the division of the Imperial troops, which were always kept in garrison or on duty in the interior. Beginning with the year 1839, a system of public education was promoted, the original scheme being the work of the astronomer, Sir John Herschel. The

which has come from the Germanic source to the United States of America. In this country large districts have been settled by Germans, and some of the most important American cities have been thoroughly Germanized. All the English-speaking countries and several of the countries held by the Latin races have, in like manner, received large additions from the abundance of the German fountain. But, as we have said, the Germans have shown no expertness in the work of colonization proper. Until after the establishment of the New Empire, they may be said to have virtually omitted from their counsels the possibilities of Africa.

There were, however, a long time ago, feeble manifestations of a colonizing purpose on the part of Germany. This might be seen as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century. About the close of that century, insignificant settlements of Germans were made on the Gold Coast of Africa. Then there was a long interval in which no such foreign enterprise was known. About 1845, the overplus of German population began to seek an outlet in foreign lands, but the streams of emigration flowed, as we have seen, not toward independent colonies, but toward the United States, Australia, and Brazil; while a smaller per cent of the emigrants found lodgment in Cape Colony.

Soon afterwards an effort was made by the outgoing Germans to secure colonial expansion in regions that were claimed, but not occupied, by Great Britain. This movement, however, was successfully opposed. As far back as 1843, a company of progressists in Düsseldorf undertook to establish an independent colony in Brazil. A similar movement was directed to the Mosquito coast, a second to Nicaragua, and a third to Chile. Another society was organized for like purposes at Berlin, in 1849. The efforts of this body were

CAPITOL—PRETORIA.

CHAMBER OF VOLKSGAARDT.

directed in particular to the German settlements in Brazil. Such a society was also constituted at Hamburg.

Then began, with the successful termination of the Prusso-Austrian war, of 1866, the modern ascendancy of Germany in Central Europe. The movement culminated in the still greater war with France in 1870. The New German Empire emerged from the conflict; foreign relations were greatly extended and multiplied, and the over-active energies of the people began to seek satisfaction in colonization and foreign trade.

Now it was, in 1878, that the German African Society was founded at Berlin for the express purpose of encouraging exploration in Equatorial Africa, and for the establishment of trading stations and colonies. The enterprise, thus originated, was directed to both western and eastern Africa. A series of successful exploring expeditions were sent out under Buchner, Pogge, Wissmann, Schulze, Kuld and Wolff. In the three years extending from 1881 to 1884, vast areas were explored by these enterprising leaders. The continent was entered from the side of Angola and penetrated as far as Lunda, the great kingdom of the Bantu. Even the southern tributaries of the Congo were visited.

Chancellor Bismarck now conceived the project of establishing a great colonial dependency in the Congo Valley. Just afterwards the basins of the Niger and the Benué were traversed by Flegel. The spirit of colonizing pervaded both the people and the administration. The example of the other nations also stimulated adventure, insomuch that a powerful Colonial German Society was established at Frankfort. Thousands of members were enrolled, including many of the leading Germans of the time.

The publication of the various societies and the open discussions

of the day were directed in particular to the regions of the Niger and the Congo. The colonizing purpose was whetted by the jealousy of the Imperial authorities lest some other nation or nations should pre-occupy the great interior valleys of the African rivers. There was also an alarm lest the doors of free-trade should be closed to the merchants of those countries not particularly concerned in African colonization. The question was agitated how Germany might most effectively protect herself against the impending danger of exclusion from the more valuable parts of the continent. The commercial spirit was aroused; the merchants' exchange of Hamburg adopted resolutions which were directed to the government, and were proposed in order to secure immediate and effective action for the preservation of German interests in Africa.

The commercial bodies of Bremen and Lubeck took similar action. The doctrine of acquiring and annexing African territory was publicly promulgated. The government was urged to enter the arena before it should be too late. Chancellor Bismarck, led on by his own aspirations, and impelled by the eagerness of the German merchants, decided to throw down the glove at the feet of Great Britain and every other power which might attempt further to monopolize the unappropriated areas of Africa.

The sequel showed that the Chancellor had already forecast the way before him. After the war with Austria, a Prussian fleet had been sent into the Pacific as far as Formosa and the Philippines. In this interval, the German flag was seen in Delagoa Bay, in the Sulu archipelago, and on the coast of Borneo. At that time, however, the Prussian administration was little disposed to follow its leader. Public opinion had to be reversed on the subject of colonial expansion; but in the later seventies a change occurred,

and Bismarck was able to carry forward his scheme of imperialism.

In this connection it is proper to notice the antecedent enterprises, which, under individual or commercial initiative, have dropped a sprinkling of Germans on the shores of Africa. About 1840, the Hamburg merchants began to send their ships to the West Coast. Already Great Britain was there in force, and France was there in a promising attitude. These two powers, or rather their African dependencies, resisted the incoming of German merchantships. The latter were obliged to adopt the deceptions of trade before they were permitted to discharge their own cargoes and to receive African products in return.

The German traders, however, persisted in their enterprise. In the course of the sixth decennium, they planted themselves in tolerable security, not only in Liberia, but also at several points further south, between the Cameroons and the Gaboon. They found a footing as far down as Benguela in Angola. All of these plantations of trade were made under the patronage of the Woermans of Hamburg. These merchant princes put out still further their vessels, made their way to the East Coast, and secured a commercial establishment in Zanzibar. Meanwhile, in 1854, a German factory was built on the Bight of Benin, northward from the Congo Delta. In 1859, the Hanse towns, by their agents, induced the Sultan of Zanzibar to make a commercial treaty with them. In 1869, this compact was adopted as the basis of a more extensive agreement between the Sultan and the North German Confederation.

The trading establishments and the factories which the Germans thus secured on the West Coast, and on the East Coast also, flourished and grew strong; so that when, in 1884, Prince Bismarck took up the political and territorial aspects of the question, he

already had a commercial basis of fact from which to promote the ambitions of his countrymen. By this time, fully sixty German factories were in operation on the western coast between Portuguese Guinea and Damaraland. From these establishments explorations, with the beginnings of enterprise, extended inland to an indefinite distance. The trading stations in Zanzibar expanded in like manner. Missionary posts were planted in many parts. Either directly or indirectly, the Sultan of Zanzibar was induced to make the suggestion of a general German protectorate for his country.

The year 1884 was important for the crisis which it brought between the foreign offices of the German Empire, on one side, and those of Great Britain, on the other. There was danger of a conflict. The aspirations of Germany were at first ridiculed by Her Majesty's government; but it was soon found that Bismarck was dreadfully in earnest. It was also noted by the shrewd experts of the British ministry that great advantages might be gained if a proper understanding could be reached with Germany, relative to the African field. The principle of addition first and division afterwards appealed strongly to both the powers. It could but be discerned that the two great nations were disposed to *enter together* the coveted continent.

The first adjustment between Germany and Great Britain was effected in 1880, when the British officials were withdrawn from Damaraland in favor of the German. Only Walfish Bay was left as a seat of British authority on that coast. Bismarck now began to solicit the coöperation of Great Britain in settling the affairs, not only in Damaraland, but also of the Namaqua region. At first the British government refused to interfere with the conduct of

the native nations—except as they concerned her own establishment at Walfish Bay.

From this time forth, however, the German Chancellor led the British further and further. He had been able to outwit even such astute statesmen as Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Granville. In 1883, he permitted his son, Count Herbert, to announce in a semi-official way that the Germans were about to establish a new manufacturing seat in the country between the Orange and the Little Fish rivers. This establishment would claim the protection of the Empire. And would Her Britannic Majesty's government assent to such an arrangement?

Great Britain now showed the concessive spirit. In February of 1883, Lord Granville, of the foreign office, directed a communication to Prince Bismarck as follows:

"I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that, having consulted the Colonial Office upon the subject, I am informed by that department that the Government of the Cape Colony have certain establishments along the coast, but that, without more precise information as to the spot where the German factory will be established, it is not possible to form any opinion as to whether the British authorities would have it in their power to give it protection in case of need. If, however, the German Government would be good enough to furnish the required information, it would be forwarded to the Government of Cape Colony, with instructions to report whether and to what extent their wishes could be met."

Under the leadership of Herr Lüderitz, the proposed establishment was nevertheless effected. A German ship proceeded from Cape Town beyond the northern limit of Cape Colony, and made a landing at a point two hundred and eighty miles south of Walfish Bay. In

the interior, at a distance of about one hundred miles, a missionary station, called Bethany, had already been planted. The commander of the expedition made an agreement with the native chief, by which he secured the district around the Bay of Angra Pequeña, and thus on its own territory the German flag was authoritatively raised on the West Coast. When the British became alarmed and sent a ship to Angra Pequeña, the vessel was coolly warned away. "These are German waters, Captain," said the commander of the ship *Carola*, over which floated the Imperial flag of the Hohenzollerns.

In the issue which followed, in the summer of 1883, Great Britain moderated her attitude, and Germany was permitted to hold her own at Angra Pequeña. Aye, more; the Imperial government was tolerated in its assumption of a right to interfere with the affairs of the native kings, and thus to extend indefinitely the "sphere" of German influence.

The ambition of Prince Bismarck to obtain an adequate share of Africa was rather inflamed than appeased with his two hundred and fifteen square miles of territory at Angra Pequeña. The policy was at once adopted of enlarging the colonial dependency, and other points, both east and west, were chosen as the centers of departure. Late in 1883, England, foreseeing her own advantages from the movement, notified Bismarck that the British government disclaimed any intention of expansion west of the twentieth degree of east longitude. To this meridian, Germany might accordingly "expand." Thus was constituted GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA. An Imperial commissioner was despatched to the new colony.

Turning from the development on the West Coast, we advance to the East Coast on which Germany now sought to gain a footing. The objective point was St. Lucia Bay, the principal harbor of Zululand.

In 1884, Herr Einwald was dispatched to that place, but he was headed off by a British ship. The government at Cape Colony had discovered an old treaty with the Kingdom of Panda, or Igbira on the Benue, which compact conceded St. Lucia Bay to Great Britain.

It was now Bismarck's turn to recede. The Chancellor, with a show of chivalry, announced that Germany would not institute any claims to African territory south of Delagoa Bay. For the time, the expansionist project on the East Coast was baffled, but Prince Bismarck found his opportunity in a state of affairs existing on the west. Did not the country of the Cameroons offer an inducement for a new enterprise "in the interests of civilization?" Thither the Imperial representative of the German government, Dr. Gustav Nachtigal, was sent in the spring of 1884. Bismarck, through his chargé d'affairs at London, made on the occasion the following statement to Her Majesty's ministry:

"I have the honor to state to your Lordship that the Imperial Consul-General, Dr. Nachtigal, has been commissioned by my Government to visit the West Coast of Africa in the course of the next few months in order to complete the information now in the possession of the Foreign Office at Berlin on the state of German commerce on that coast. With this object Dr. Nachtigal will shortly embark at Lisbon on board the gunboat *Möwe*. He will put himself into communication with the authorities in the English possessions on the said coast, and is authorized to conduct, on behalf of the Imperial Government, negotiations connected with certain questions. I venture, in accordance with my instructions, to beg your Excellency to be so good as to cause the authorities in the British possessions in West Africa to be furnished with suitable recommendations."

It was easy to see that the business of dividing Africa was now

on. Two of the most powerful nations of Christendom had embarked in the enterprise. The movement gained momentum. The work of Nachtigal on the west was highly successful. His enterprise ended with the relinquishment by England of the whole coast bordered by the mountains of the Cameroons as far as the river Del Rey. Nachtigal for his part succeeded before his death, which occurred off Cape Palmas on the 20th of April, 1885, in annexing, not only Angra Pequeña and the Cameroons, but also Tongaland on the East Coast, thus supplying for the German Empire a comparatively easy access from the coast to the South African Republic.

The relations of the latter government to Germany had been so friendly that overtures were openly made for the establishment of a protectorate of the Empire over the Transvaal. From Tongaland to the Transvaal territories a railway might easily be laid, thus giving to the Germans a great advantage in the oncoming partition of the continent.

It appears in the retrospect that while this really surprising activity of Germany was bearing on to the complete establishment of her interests in Africa, Great Britain slept. While she slumbered her possession in the region of German enterprise was narrowed to Walfish Bay. Prince Bismarck went forward steadily to claim for the Empire which he represented, the same kind of suzerainty in the dependencies which Great Britain had herself assumed the right to exercise over her own possessions.

Until May of 1884, the Cape Colony government seemed oblivious to the danger of German ascendancy on the West Coast. At that date a communication was sent to Parliament, recommending the assumption of sovereignty over the whole of that region. Not even Angra Pequeña was excepted from the scheme. Hereupon the German Consul at the Cape informed the British administration

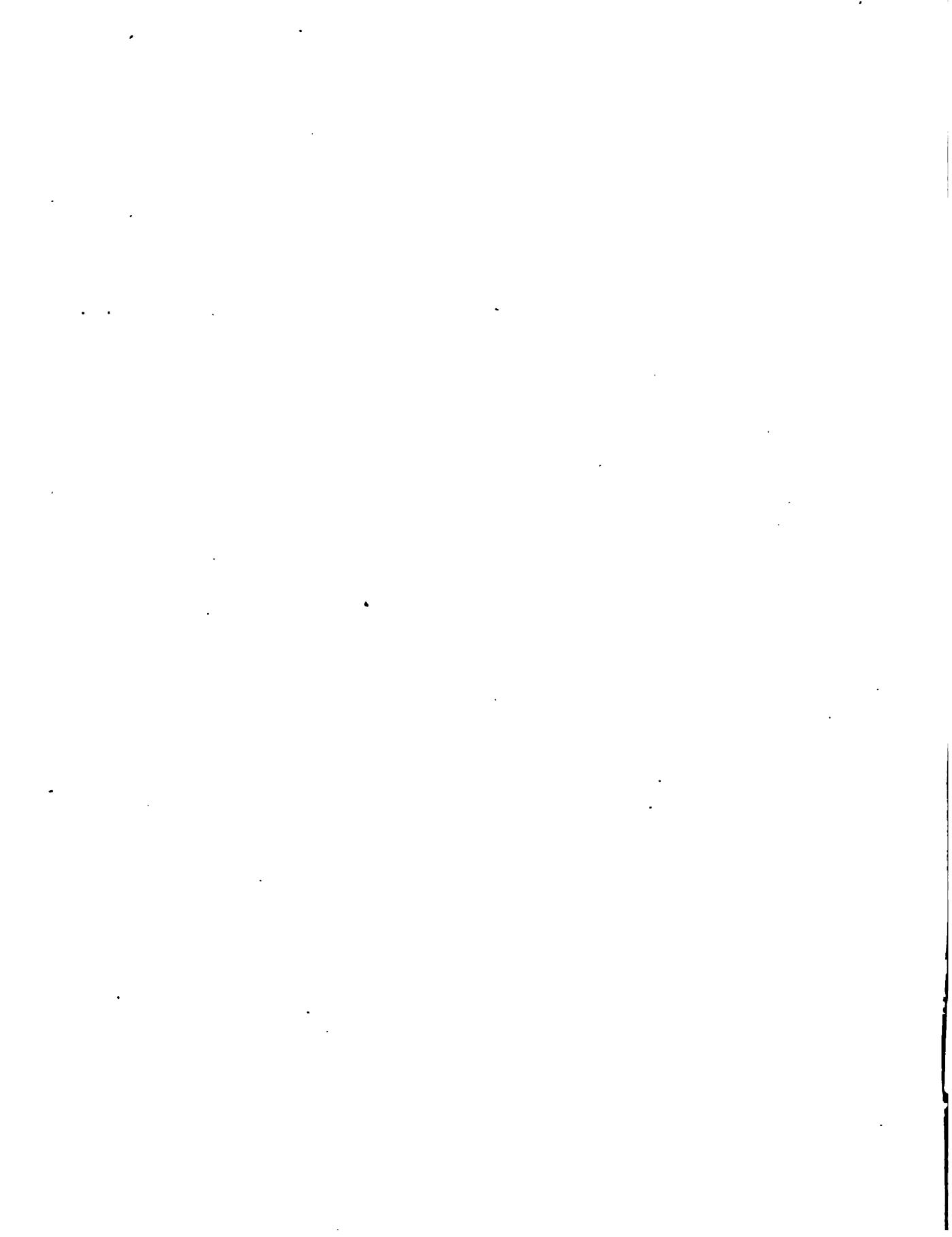
**ZULU WARRIOR.**

NATIVES SMOKING "TISANGO" (INDIAN HEMP.)

that Angra Pequena was now under the protection of the German Empire! Then there was a brief period of dilly-dallying.

Prince Bismarck, however, was now in a position to carry things with a high hand. He sent his son, Count Herbert, to London, and in June of 1884, the British Cabinet formally recognized the German protectorate on the disputed coast. The "disputed coast" had by this time extended itself for a great distance, even as far as the twenty-sixth parallel of south latitude. Soon afterwards the German warship *Elizabeth*, commanded by Captain Schering, was sent to Angra Pequena, and the Imperial flag was raised symbolizing the suzerainty of Germany over the African coast from the parallel just mentioned, that is, the southern limit of Angola, southward to the mouth of the Orange River. Only the Walvisch Bay station of Great Britain was excepted from this delimitation.

German Southwest Africa thus became a fact in the map of the world. It was not as yet, however, a fact in the diplomacy of the nations. This point remained to be decided at the great conference held in Berlin in the autumn of 1884. But before proceeding to narrate the work of that body it is desirable to point out the appearance of one or two other nations on the scene, and to define their respective parts in the great partition which was at hand. True it is, the influence of France and Italy has been felt almost wholly in the vast region north of the scene of the present contest in the southern part of the continent. Nevertheless, France has displayed her power on the West Coast below the equator, and her ascendancy in Northern Africa is undisputed. We shall, in the following chapter, therefore, trace out with some care the evolution of French Africa, and note the present status of France among the contestants who claim as their right the partition of the continent.



## CHAPTER VI

### FRANCE AND ITALY CLAIM THEIR PORTIONS

It cannot be said that in modern times France has been an indifferent spectator of the imperial ambitions of other nations. In the year 1875, the Count de Brazza appeared on the scene as a rival of Henry M. Stanley, in the exploration of Central Africa. The Count, though an Italian by birth, was a Frenchman by education and by service in the French navy. He had for his coadjutors M. Marche and Dr. Ballay.

These three courageous explorers set out on an expedition to ascend the Ogove river, which flows into the South Atlantic just below the equatorial line. The notion of the leaders was that they might follow up the course of the stream into the interior of the continent. The event did not justify the expectation. What with falls and rapids, and what with a diminishing volume of water, the expedition was soon obliged to abandon the Ogove; but De Brazza pressed on to the east until he passed the watershed and found the tributaries of the Alima flowing *eastward*. Stanley, however, had already solved the problem of these streams, and was able to announce that they were in reality tributaries of the Congo. None the less, De Brazza's expedition led to the planting on the lower Ogove of a settlement, at first designated as the Gaboon, but after 1891 by the official name of FRENCH CONGO.

At one time, namely in November of 1880, when De Brazza was descending the Congo, he met Stanley on his way up the valley. The Frenchman was very successful in his relations with

the native chiefs. Being the representative of the International Association, he made haste to confirm a treaty with a head chief in the Congo valley. The negro emperor placed himself under the protection of the French flag and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Republic.

Two important stations in this part of the continent, still surviving, bear witness in their names to the events just narrated. These are the African town of Kintamo, which the French designate as Brazzaville, and the station on the Ogove, to which the explorer gave the name of Franceville. The importance of these preliminaries lay in the fact of the coïncidence of the British and French flags in entering the equatorial region of Central Africa.

Without, for the present, tracing further the successful beginnings of French Congo, we shall notice the appearance of still another claimant in this great and inviting region. The King of the Belgians had been aroused by the conference of international representatives which was held at his capital. While Stanley and De Brazza were trying each to circumvent the other and to establish priority of claims, a train of circumstances brought the new power into the field, threatening to supplant both empire-makers by the establishment of older rights on the African coast and to it.

It will be remembered that Portugal had been first on the shores of West Africa. Although she had been thrust aside in the historical jostlings of the ages, she had never relinquished her original claims. According to her own interpretation, her rights in the sub-equatorial region, extending from about the fifth to the eighth parallel, were not to be disputed by any other power. As far back as 1856, however, the Portuguese assumption had, as a matter of fact, been controverted by Great Britain; but in 1882,

the representative of Portugal at the court of St. James stoutly maintained the original claim. When the matter came to negotiation, Great Britain desired that equal privileges for all nations on the disputed coast should be granted without regard to the priority of Portugal.

In all such cases, "equal privileges" signify, in the British diplomatic contention that all ports and trading centers should be open alike to all nations, special privileges being granted to none. Finally, however, in 1884, the Anglo-Portuguese treaty was concluded, in which the ancient dominion of Portugal was recognized as being in force. It appears that this assent of Great Britain to the revival of a territorial tradition was based on the fact of the expectation which Lord Granville entertained, that the King of the Belgians would soon make away with the Portuguese claims, and that he could be induced to transfer the same to the British crown.

Meanwhile, however, the Belgian ruler, by his agent, Mr. Stanley, prosecuted his independent enterprise, until the explorer finally issued at the mouth of the Congo. He brought with him the first authentic revelation of the actual character of the vast interior of the continent. This being done under the auspices of Belgium, gave to that power such precedence as completely to change the aspect of the whole question. Thus, from a personal, as well as from a Belgian, a British, or German source, the vast African question obtruded itself, calling loudly for a solution. The success of Stanley was, as we have seen, one of the powerful antecedents which made necessary the Berlin Conference of 1884. England and Germany were both borne forward and induced to take the position that the old Portuguese claims to the country of the Congo could be no

longer admitted. It was a pretension which had been abolished by time, working in the service of history.

France, in the meantime, went forward with more than her usual enthusiasm to make it impossible for Great Britain to get possession of the coast which she claimed for herself. The British posts at Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Lagos, were narrowed as much as possible by French pressure around them. The scheme of the Republic contemplated nothing less than securing the whole valley of the Niger for the establishment of a vast colonial dependency. This measure, however, Great Britain successfully resisted. A British protectorate was created on the Benué, which is the south branch of the Niger. The French gained possession of the upper or principal valley, but not without serious interference on the part of the Germans.

The plan of the French at this juncture was ambitious. It was, in a word, to connect the new dependencies of France in Sene-gambia with her great Mediterranean province of Algeria, and to spread the one until it should join the other. Such an enterprise necessitated the construction of a railway across the Sahara from the Upper Niger to the Algerian frontier. Nor shall we be blamed for anticipating the great success of this scheme, which flourished to such an extent that by the year 1895 the map of Africa showed in the northwest as French territory the largest single European dominion in the whole continent!

As early as 1881, the French Republic sent out her engineers to run trial lines across the desert and to report on the practicability of the railway scheme. Great difficulty, however, was encountered in the enterprise. The engineering corps had not proceeded far into the Sahara until the intrusion was resented by

the native Tuaregs, who fell upon and destroyed the French party. The expedition was so ill-starred that French ambition was constrained to find another vent.

This, however, was easily done. For on the eastern frontier of Algeria lay the exposed kingdom of Tunis. Under the Turkish deys that country had sunk into an abject condition bordering on barbarism. Tunis in commerce was a semi-piratical state which the more civilized nations did not fail to condemn and punish. France resented the course and condition of Tunis to the extent of an invasion, which was undertaken successfully in 1881. On the 12th of May in that year a French protectorate was declared, and the Algerian dependency of France was thus extended on the east to include the vilayet of Tripoli.

If, then, we contemplate the African map as a whole, tracing out the French possessions in the era just preceding the Berlin Conference of 1884 and the general partition of the continent, and if we look for the *blue* to indicate the territorial interests of France, we shall find on the north, Algeria, including Tunis; on the west, extending from Cape Blanco to Gambia and indefinitely up the Senegal to about the twelfth meridian west, the coast dependency of Senegal; in the interior, the two stations of Kita and Bammako; on the coast, the small settlement of Nunez; on the Gulf of Guinea, next to the Gold Coast, Bassam; in the Cameroons, the station of Bantanga; under the equator, the Gaboon; on the Congo Coast, Mayumba and Loanga; on the east, off Madagascar, the three islands of St. Mary, Nosabé, and Mayotta; and in the Gulf of Aden, Obok Musha. Such were the African possessions for the preservation of which France was to go armed into the Berlin Conference.

One other circumstance must be added, and that is the French

campaigns which were made into the desert region at the beginning of the ninth decennium. It was not to be supposed that the Sahara railway scheme would be abandoned. In 1880, an important expedition, in which military conquest, political expediency, and scientific discovery were all combined, was undertaken into the interior. It was thought that the Upper Niger might be connected by rail with far-off Medina. It was on this expedition that Bammako and Kita, in the Niger valley, far in the interior, were taken and garrisoned by the French.

The commanders of the force engaged in this work were Colonel Desbordes and Captain Gallieni. The king of the Fulah "empire," covering this region, was Ahmadu, who first resisted and then tolerated the French, to the extent of making with them, in March of 1881, a significant treaty. By this the protectorate of France was acknowledged for the left bank of the Upper Niger. Here, however, for a period of four years, the progress of the French was stayed. Not until after the Berlin Conference of 1884 were hostilities renewed by the French under Colonel Frey, who invaded the country of King Samorry, whom he compelled to sign a favorable treaty. And here France made a pause.

It is one of the marvels of modern history that Italy and the Italians have played so small a part in the game of "expansion." Why should ancient Italy and the Roman race have been able to dictate to the whole world for a thousand years what should and what should not be done, while the same territory and the descendants of the Romans have not been able to dictate to any part of the world for one day or one hour of time? The wonder is increased by the fact that the splendid enterprise and brilliant genius of individual Italians have, in the meantime, transformed the world.

WEST STREET, DURBAN, LOOKING EAST.

MARKET PLACE AT JOHANNESBURG.

Who first beheld the crescent of Venus and the moons of Jupiter? An Italian. Who converted Music from the whistle and screech and tom-tom booming and mere trumpet blare of the ancients, both civilized and savage, into the divine harmonies of the modern art? The Italians. Who found the New World? An Italian adventurer. Who fastened the anchor of England off the eastern shore of North America? An Italian born. Who at the imperial fête in Paris tapped the Austrian ambassador on the shoulder and expressed his regret at the "altered relations" between his master and Napoleon III? The Italian diplomatist, Cavour—one of the greatest of modern statesmen. But the nation, *as such*, has been as sterile as an unblossoming rod. In the discovery of foreign lands she has been first, and in colonizing last. It was only after the deliberations at the Berlin Congress that an Italian share in Africa was recognized by the nations. Even this, perhaps, would not have been accomplished had it not been that Italy had become a member of the *Dreibund*, of which Germany was the unit, and Austria and Umberto's kingdom the two ciphers, making the important one hundred!

There had not been, however, a total failure of Italian enterprise. In 1875 a fleet from Italy descended on the island of Socotra, lying eastward from Cape Gardafui. There was a manifest attempt to take possession of that point, whose inhabitants, being Christians of the Nestorian sect, might be supposed to harmonize peaceably, if not freely, with the South-European people. Italy would, indeed, have gained possession of the island but for the opposition of England. That power, already ascendant on the East Coast between the fifth degree south and Somoliland, would not brook the acquirement of Socotra by even so weak a state as Italy.

The latter was obliged, for the time, to content herself with a small footing in the Bay of Assab, near the southern extremity of the Red Sea. This she had acquired in 1870. The spot had been chosen and purchased as a coaling station, but it was not formally recognized as an Italian basis until the year 1880.

When once well posted, however, the Italians began to ascend the Red Sea and to spread northward along the coast in the direction of Massowah and Suakim. They would have diffused themselves southward also but for the existence and opposition of the French establishment at Obok, just below the strait of Mandeb. The rather resolute clutch which Italy made at this coast did not create much interest among the European powers, but the Abyssinians were excited to active belligerency.

We are here led by the nature of the facts to anticipate what occurred some time *after* the greater African questions had been settled by the Berlin Congress. For about fifteen years, the Italian coaling station of Assab was the only firm hold which Umberto had on the East Coast. But at length the opportunity came, not only for spreading northward, but for gaining still more advantageous stations on the Red Sea. About the middle of the ninth decennium, the broil of Egypt with the Mahdists of the Sudan became so heated that any movement which seemed to threaten the latter was looked upon most favorably by Great Britain, who viewed the whole matter through her Egyptian spectacles. Italy was therefore encouraged to seize Massowah, which was done; and further progress was made until the Italian coast was estimated to extend for a distance of six hundred and fifty miles; that is, from Obok to Cape Kasar.

This was more than King John of Abyssinia could bear. War

broke out between the Italians and the Abyssinians, and in January of 1887, the former were virtually exterminated. King John had the satisfaction of driving the invaders to the coast. This brave monarch soon died, to be succeeded by his son Menelek, who followed the same policy as his father. After a year, however, a treaty was agreed to by him, and henceforth Italy claimed a protectorate over Abyssinia. Menelek insisted, however, that *he* held a protectorate over the Italian coast!

Meanwhile the situation encouraged foreign intervention. France and her friend Russia sympathized with Abyssinia. The former shipped muskets, and the latter sent priests, to assist King Menelek. In course of time, a Russian fleet was seen hawking around the French station at Obok. Nevertheless, the Italian "sphere" was enlarged and confirmed; for Great Britain favored the "sphere." In the years 1890-91, the enterprise of Italian colonization was so greatly promoted that the dependency was converted into the colony of ERYTREA. An autonomous government was instituted, and a local administration was established on a democratic basis.

The project, however, cost Italy a large sum of money, and her only compensation was in seeing her African dependency enlarging itself, first from a coaling station in Assab Bay, to a district fifty-two thousand square miles in extent; then to a protectorate holding an area of one hundred and ninety-five thousand square miles; and finally to a colonial state having a dominion of more than six hundred thousand square miles.

In the meantime, a serious controversy arose between Italy and Great Britain. The dominion of the latter was said to extend northward beyond the river Jub, just below the equator, while the

claim of Italy extended southward *to* the same stream, thus producing a dangerous overlap of British and Italian ground. Italy, however, was at this time performing so good a service by playing upon the hinderpart of Dervishdom that the British lion's features relaxed from a snarl into something resembling a smile. The Jub was accordingly conceded to Italy as her southern limit.

These events conclude the episode of Italy in Africa down to the time when Dr. Jameson and his party reached Krügersdorp and thus marking an epoch. Nearly all of the movements discussed in the present chapter belong to the history of equatorial and Northern Africa and to the period subsequent to the crisis of 1884. These events are therefore, only remotely or incidentally concerned with the transformation of the Southern part of the continent. In the following chapter we shall pass from the development of separate European colonial states in Africa to the more general international settlement of the questions involved by the Congress of Berlin.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONGRESS OF BERLIN AND THE CONGO STATE

After the powerful interference of Germany in the affairs of Africa, and the successful establishment by her of a great dependency on the southwest coast, a settlement of all the questions arising from the movement, by an international conference, became an imperative necessity. All of the circumstances hitherto narrated were but antecedents of that Congress, and determinative of its actions. It is in the nature of such bodies to extort from the past the conditions for the government of the present and for the settlement of the exigency, whatever it may be. Very rarely does a diplomatical or ambassadorial meeting do more than declare what history has already accomplished.

The more immediate cause of the Conference of Berlin was the course which Germany had successfully taken in suddenly acquiring a great dependency on the southwest coast of Africa. This success aroused all the other powers to the exercise of unwonted activity. There was a rush of them all—as if to gather as much as could be carried away of some immense spoil poured from the horn of destiny. Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, were all frightened, each in its kind, at the prospect of getting less than the lion's share of the treasure.

The Congo region had been suddenly opened up. All the way around the coast from Liberia to Bab-el-Mandeb there was disturbance, jealousy, scheming to get the better part. The stronger nations might have been willing to trust to force, but the weaker

appealed to diplomacy. The weaker nation is, indeed, always ready to arbitrate. The stronger nation decides that there are always *certain* questions which must be decided by its own judgment alone. Nations, like individuals, often consider that the end justifies the means, and history alone must write the verdict.

In the case of the African imbroglio, it remained for Portugal to ask for an umpire. Her appeal was made to France first, and France assented. This much gained, the proposition was carried to Germany, and Prince Bismarck gave his approval also. Thus strengthened, the movement reached England, and in June of 1884, Lord Granville, acting for the Ministry, announced the favorable decision of Great Britain. The conference was accordingly convened to meet in the city of Berlin, in November of 1884.

For the most part, the ambassadors of the leading states of Christendom, who were then resident at the German court, were empowered to act as representatives of their respective governments, in the work of the Congress. Every considerable power in Europe, with the single exception of Switzerland, participated in the proceedings. The government of the United States was represented by the Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the German Empire.

Accordingly, on the 15th of November, the Congress was organized. The sittings continued until the 30th of January, 1885. The results were made up in a document entitled the "General Act of the Conference of Berlin." To this, the representatives of the various nations affixed their signatures on the 24th of February 1885. All the leading states of Europe, except Switzerland (not represented) and the United States of America, became powers signatory to the document which embodied the results of the conference. Nor may we pass from the event without noting the

presence and membership of Henry M. Stanley in the Congress, and the double relation which he held before that body. In one character he was a representative of the United States, in the capacity of a geographical expert. But in his other character, and more properly, he represented the interests of his friend and patron, King Leopold of Belgium.

The proceedings of the Berlin Congress were full of interest and enthusiasm. The nations seemed to have suddenly awaked to the overwhelming importance of possessing and developing the remaining one of the four major continents of the world. The attention of the delegates was fixed in particular upon the valley of the Congo. The impelling motive was commercial rather than political. If the nations strove with each other for the new field of opportunity, it was because it offered the tremendous rewards of trade. The question was therefore on, in full tide, from the beginning. *What kind of trade shall it be?*

It was here that the great modern proposition of the so-called "open door" began to be firmly advanced and defended. It soon appeared in the deliberations that it was not so much a question as to what power should be in the ascendant in the Congo valley, as it was the question whether all trade therewith should be free. In a short time this inquiry was decided in the affirmative. As to the issue of a protectorate, that lay for the most part between Belgium and France, with the advantages in favor of the former. Stanley had done the work for Leopold, who had given him his patronage. More and more the deliberations turned to the establishment of a great interior state under the suzerainty of the king of the Belgians. As to the commercial question, the discussions went strongly and altogether towards the opening and neutrality of both the Congo and the Niger.

The debates next veered from the bottom issue to the determination of the limits of the sphere of free trade. Finally, a trans-continental line was drawn, as if to circumscribe an inchoate empire. It was determined in such manner as to include the larger part of Central Africa, with a sufficient extent of coast, east and west, to ensure free gateways for all the ships of the world. On the Atlantic side, the coast was made commercially free from two degrees and thirty minutes, south latitude, that is from about the middle of French Congo, to a point inclusive of the upper section of Angola. From about the center of French Congo the line was drawn to the north, far up through the Cameroons, and thence eastward with the watershed between the tributaries of the Benué (South Niger) and those of the Congo. Afterwards the line left the streams flowing into Lake Chad on the north until the fountains of the Nile were reached at the fifth parallel of north latitude. The line then proceeded due east to the further coast of Somoliland. On the south the boundary was begun at the mouth of the Zambesi, and was traced onward to the west of Lake Nyassa; thence westward in a somewhat zigzag course to the boundary of Angola; and thence in a circular direction to its exit at Ambriz, on the coast.

Thus was secured by the edict of the nations a region, not dissimilar in shape to the United States of America, and of comparatively as great a geographical area, dedicated forever to freedom of commerce among all nations. A provision was enacted that the assent of the sovereign states lying within the delimitation should be given. Trade, whether interior traffic or coast line commerce, should henceforth be subject only to such charges as were necessary to support it, and to such restrictions as were expedient for its protection.

ZULU KRAAL OR HOMESTRAD.

BEER DRINKING.

The assembled representatives next went forward to consider the opening and neutralization of the Niger. This river was also declared to be free to international trade. The conditions were almost as favorable as those which were declared for the Congo Valley. In order to carry out the edicts of the Congress, an International Commission to superintend the development of the Congo Basin was appointed; but in the case of the valley of the Niger, the settlement of everything was left to the conjoint action of France and Great Britain only.

The next great question under consideration was the enactment of a rule to be followed in the future occupation of territory not already preempted on the African coast. After discussion it was decided that the same principle which, in time of war, governs the action of nations in establishing blockades, should hold in the peaceable occupation of coast territories; that is, such occupation in order to be binding must be effective. There must be an actual display of ships and men and colonists; veritable settlements; real debarkation and building and trade, before preemption should be acknowledged by other nations as rightful and binding. There must be on the part of the parent state a manifest purpose to *hold and defend* the given territory before the occupation should be acknowledged.

Very important also was the question of constituting a great civil and commercial dominion in the Congo Valley. This was, in the next place, undertaken by the Congress, and was successfully accomplished. The Congo ~~FREE~~ STATE began to be. A geographical foundation was assumed as the result of the work of Henry M. Stanley. In the years 1874-77, that explorer had traced, not only the southern tributaries of the Congo, but also the western sources of

the Victoria Nyanza. After that he descended the Lualaba until the great stream became the Congo itself—just as an early explorer in our own Great West might have identified the Missouri with the Mississippi. Moved by this astonishing result, Leopold, King of the Belgians, had taken Stanley under his patronage with orders to complete his explorations between the Lualaba and the Lower Congo, and thus, as it were, to preempt a territory which, as the event showed, approximated one million square miles.

Beginning from this result, the Berlin Congress proceeded to define the limits and to establish a system of government for the Congo Free State. The protectorate of the King of the Belgians was declared. Otherwise the new empire was to be, as its name implies, *free* from foreign domination. Already, before the convention was held, the movement for autonomy in Congo had proceeded so far as to obtain recognition from the United States. The International Congo Association had adopted as the symbol of its dominion a blue flag with a golden star, and this was saluted by the republic as early as the 22d of April, 1884. The same banner was also welcomed by Germany one week before the assembling of the Congress of Berlin. In the Congo emblem, however, there was a suggestion of controversy; for who should claim the protectorate? France desired that *her* Congo should include the new sovereignty. But the claim of Leopold had a more solid basis.

Colonel Strauch, President of the Congo Association, under whose auspices the country was proceeding so rapidly toward statehood, at length notified the government of France that her claim of dominion was inadmissible; the rightful possessor was Leopold of Belgium, and the latter, should he be disturbed, would bequeath his rights to the kingdom of which he was the ruler.

Sharp words followed, and the controversy threatened serious results until a settlement was reached between France and Belgium, in February of 1895, by which it was agreed that the latter should become the heir, so to speak, of Leopold to the Congo Free State. The compact was as follows:

**ARTICLE 1.**—The Belgian Government recognizes that France has a right of preëmption over its possessions on the Congo in case of their alienation by sale or exchange in whole or in part. Any exchange of territory with a foreign power, any placing of the said territories, in whole or in part, in the hands of a foreign state or of a foreign company invested with rights of sovereignty, will also give occasion to France's right of preëmption, and will become, therefore, the object of a preliminary negotiation between the Government of the French Republic and the Belgian Government.

**ARTICLE 2.**—The Belgian Government declares that there shall never be gratuitous cession of all or a portion of the said possessions.

**ARTICLE 3.**—The arrangements contemplated in the above articles apply to the whole of the territories of Belgian Congo.

By this agreement it might be said that a line of succession was established whereby the future protectorate of the Congo Free State should descend—as long as a protectorate might exist—first, from Leopold to his kingdom, and *after that*, (if ever) to France.

As first constituted, the great Congo Free State was wholly a dominion of the interior. In a short time, however, an exit was secured by the consent of Portugal through the northwest angle of her Angola; and thus on the south side of the Congo Delta a bit of sea coast was added to the Free State, sufficient for a

highway to the Atlantic. The general boundaries determined upon by the Congress were liberal. The line on the west extended on the left bank of the Congo from the northern line of Angola to the equator. Thence the limit lay along the eastern boundary of French Congo to the northeast angle of that province, and thence due north to the parallel of four degrees north latitude. Thence that parallel was followed to the thirtieth meridian east; thence with the meridian just named to the northern extremity of Lake Tanganyika; thence with the Lake and the fourth parallel westward to the Lualaba; thence southward with that stream to the sixth parallel, and thence westward to the mouth of the Congo.\*

The area of the Congo Free State is, as already said, approximately nine hundred thousand square miles, and the native population is reckoned at about fourteen million souls. Thus out of the whole basin of the Congo, with its estimated area of one million six hundred thousand square miles (ranking as it does next to the valley of the Amazon, which exceeds it by only two hundred thousand square miles) the Congo Free State embraces at least nine sixteenths of the whole.

We need not here follow the work of the Berlin Congress into the remoter results which flowed therefrom. King Leopold found himself in the condition of a flourishing American farmer, to whom, say in 1870, the government of the United States should have sent a deed to the territory of Colorado! The King had the largest farm in Christendom. Out of it, ten American States of first-class proportions might be carved. Nor was any part of the vast region

\* The final determination of the boundaries of Congo was not effected until the 19th of May, 1894, when King Leopold and the representative of Great Britain reached an amicable conclusion on the last particulars of the scheme.

lacking in all the suggestions of abundant wealth and exuberant industrial development; but to do the work, ah, there was the rub.

As soon as the Belgian Parliament was convened, two months after the adjournment of the Congress at Berlin, the work of that body was approved as it related to the kingdom and the king. The Parliament passed a resolution declaring, "the union between Belgium and the New State will be exclusively personal." The act ratified the course of the sovereign—no more. About a month afterwards the king sent notes to all the powers signatory to the "General Act of the Conference," to the effect that the territorial possessions hitherto controlled by the International Congo Association had become, under his own suzerainty, the Congo Free State. Over that state, as over the home kingdom, he would exercise the powers of a sovereign.

In the years immediately following the Congress the King of the Belgians was obliged to make great expenditures in support of his dependent realm. He manfully met the requirements, but they were such as to deplete the royal treasury. At length, in 1889, he made his will, and in it bequeathed his rights and interests in the Congo Free State to the kingdom of Belgium, which he named his heir. This step was taken, in part, because of the heavy expenditures he had made in the interest of Congo.

In July of the following year, the king appealed to the Parliament for help. That body received his petition with favor, and voted to Leopold a loan (without interest) of twenty-five million francs. The advance was made for a period of ten years, with the condition that Belgium should have the right, within six months thereafter, of annexing the Free State to the home Kingdom. Should this overture be declined, the loan should be continued for

ten years longer, and should then be repaid by the representatives of the sovereign. In view of this arrangement, the king deemed it expedient to obviate as far as practical that part of the standing agreement with France by which that republic might, in a certain contingency, assume the suzerainty of Congo. To bar this possibility, Leopold, on the 21st of July, 1890, added a codicil to the effect that the Free State should never be alienated from the Belgian crown.

In this attitude stood the affairs of Congo from 1890 to 1895. Meanwhile, certain advantageous changes had been made in the boundaries of the State. Great Britain consented to two modifications; one on the west of Lake Tanganyika, and the other on the side of the Sudan—this in 1894. In the way of local affairs, one short railway was completed. In the years 1892-93, serious hostilities broke out between the military forces of the Free State and the Arab slave-merchants on the middle and upper Congo. The latter were unwilling that their business should be abolished, as the Congress of Berlin had decreed. The Arabs stood stoutly for what they considered their immemorial rights. At first they were able to resist the repressive efforts of the Belgian forces acting under the inspiration of the Anti-Slavery Society. Afterwards the Arabs were repelled; during the year 1893, they were driven back to Lake Tanganyika, and their principal seats were taken by the Europeans.

At the very time of this Arab insurrection, namely, in the latter part of 1892, the Chartered Company, to which the management of the industrial affairs of Congo had been intrusted, found itself unable to procure free laborers for the construction of the railway referred to in the preceding paragraph. The natives were

indolent and inefficient in the performance of the heavy and constant labor which was demanded of them. What, therefore, should the Chartered Company do, but import a colony of more than six hundred coolies from China? This proceeding was the introduction of a modified slavery which differed from that of the Arabs in the fact that it was a Christian enterprise, while theirs was strictly a Mohammedan business. The event, however, showed the futility of the coolie importation. The Chinese could not endure the intolerable steam-bath and fever-fume of Equatorial Africa. In a short time, five out of every six of the coolies died; the remainder straggled off into the interior in the hope of reaching China *on foot!*

In a comparatively short time after the Berlin Conference the Congo Free State, which had been undertaken as a broad international enterprise, became to all intents and purposes a Belgian colonial dependency. Gradually the agents of the other powers withdrew from the country and Belgian officers were put in their places. Neither could the broad provisions which had been declared as to the freedom of commerce and the suppression of the slave-trade be successfully enforced. The resources of King Leopold ran low and the administrative expenses of Congo had to be met by the institution of a system of imposts. Fortunately, the government adopted the expedient of laying the duty almost exclusively on spirituous liquors. Great Britain protested that this was not free trade; Belgium was obliged to reply that, though it was not free trade, it was necessary.

As to the suppression of the slave-trade and the illicit traffic in ivory, these matters were peculiarly hard to control. It was thought that after the Conference of 1884 the multiplication of

European dependencies on the African coasts would virtually preclude the Arab slave-traders from an exit. It was supposed that the man-hunters would cease their operations as soon as they could no longer safely export their chattels. The arrangement of the *map* by the supervising cartographers in the Congress of Berlin proved to be a very different matter from the actual revision of the *continent*. Nothing, indeed, spurns geography more than Mother Earth. When a new map is made it is difficult to lay it on! The map is eight inches by twelve inches, while the continent is more than four thousand miles in length and quite as great in breadth! How shall the one be stretched to cover the other?\*

As to the work of administration in Congo, that was regularly organized. The vice in the situation was, and is, that the "government" remained in Brussels instead of being erected on the middle Congo. How can one place govern another place? That work has never been successfully accomplished in the history of the world. Successful governments have been inaugurated *in* distant dependent territories, but never *for* them *outside* of them. In the course of time, the Congo administration will no doubt be localized where it belongs, and when that is done, the actual political existence of the new state will begin.

For administrative purposes the whole of Congo was divided into twelve districts or provinces, each under the control of a

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\* Some of the striking facts about the position and extent of Africa seem never to have been pointed out. The geographical emplacement and contour are sufficient to make a cartographer superstitious. In the first place, the continent is just seventy degrees in extent from north to south, and it is just seventy degrees in extent from east to west. The breadth of it and the length of it are the same. Again, the continent exactly balances north and south on the equatorial line; it has thirty-five degrees of north latitude and thirty-five degrees of south latitude. Finally the balancing meridian, dividing the continent into an eastern and western half, is likewise peculiar. If such meridian be drawn from the heel of Italy through the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, it will leave thirty-five degrees of longitude on the west, and also thirty-five degrees on the east. The Congo Free State lies almost wholly on the eastern and about one-half in the southern division of the continent as here indicated. The point of intersection of the two dividing lines is on the Congo at the point where the great tributaries of the interior have their confluence, precisely under the equator.

**NATIVE ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS.**

CIVILIZED NATIVE WOMEN.

Governor-General and a Commissary, who is the Lieutenant-Governor. The whole corps of officials, with the king and three ministers at the head, numbers about eighty. A department of justice was instituted with superior and inferior courts. The judicial administration was extended as far as the Middle Congo, but the upper valley was allowed to remain under military rule.

In the meantime, commercial enterprise made its way far up the river, and stations to the number of about forty were established. The missionary societies of several nations have also been on the alert to penetrate, if not to occupy, the vast equatorial region. Individual adventurers and travelers of the second-class have continued to follow up and complete the work which they of the first-class outlined so marvelously in the eighth and ninth decades. All such work, however, is slow. Progress is embarrassed by the fact that it has passed from the sensational into the practical stage;—from oratory to fact. The Arab slave-traders have been checked somewhat, but not suppressed. It is claimed that cannibalism is still practiced in many parts of the interior. Nor should we pass from the subject without remarking that the whole discussion of European accomplishment, as outlined in this and in the preceding chapter is well calculated to leave an erroneous impression on the reader's mind with respect to *the actual changes* effected thereby in Africa.

The actual changes have not been great. This fact will be at once perceived when the inquirer is reminded that the extension of a European protectorate over a region of new country is a political expedient, and that geographical, industrial, social and racial conditions are but slightly effected thereby. The real history of Africa, therefore, in the period under consideration, lies deep down,

like a great geological stratum, under the thin layer of diplomatical drift that covers it from sight. The stratum is thick and hard as the rocks; the drift is only an epidermis.

In all the international proceedings, which began in the Brussels Conference of 1876 and reached a climax in the Berlin Congress of 1884, how much was done for the benefit of the one hundred and twenty millions of native Africans? What did the representatives of the great powers of Christendom, in convention assembled, decree that has been unselfishly applied to the enlightenment of the prodigious volume of barbarism in the Dark Continent? As much, we doubt not, as civilization in the West has done in an altruistic way to promote the interests and protect the rights of the American Aborigines—that is, **NOTHING!**

## CHAPTER VIII

### MINOR CLAIMANTS AND REMOTER INFLUENCES

In an inquiry which is essentially preliminary to the history of the Boer-British war of 1899, many facts belonging to the African transformation bear only indirectly on the conflict in the South. Several countries of the continent, remote from the scene, are not so much concerned as are those which are contiguous to the field of action. But the whole of the African states are, in a sense, connected and interdependent; none, therefore, can be properly excluded from the inquiry.

If, for example, Egypt be far away from the central area of disturbance, that country is none the less the most important "protected" African territory of one of the combatants. Or, again, how can the German, French, and Portuguese dependencies be indifferent to the result of a conflict, which, if it end *one* way, will threaten their own security, and if it end the *other* way will give them further opportunity of expansion? In the current chapter we shall consider briefly some of the remoter influences which bear upon the contest in South Africa—a contest which may have only the significance of a passing revolt, or, on the other hand, become the world-involving tempest of Armageddon.

In the first place, then, as to EGYPT. That country became a virtual dependency of Great Britain in 1882. The Suez Canal had been opened, thus furnishing an all-water route, via the Mediterranean, to British India and all the East. Henceforth, it was no longer necessary to double the Cape. The intervention of Great Britain

came in the year just named, when the military revolt headed by Arabi Pasha threatened to subvert the suzerainty of Turkey, and if that, to invite, as British statesmen declared, an occupation of Egypt by some other power inimical to the interests of Great Britain in Asia. Hence the occupation of the country and the institution of a new order in the valley of the Nile.

Great Britain having put money into the country, her next requirement was to get money out of it. This brought a wholesale agricultural development; for otherwise, Egypt could not pay the taxes imposed upon her. The ground products in the course of nine years rose to an annual export value of sixty-five million dollars. On the southern frontier, the Mahdist insurrection kept rumbling and shooting out forked tongues of fire. The African Mohammedans, who might press upon the Sudan northward and upon the Red Sea eastward, were estimated at forty million souls. In 1883, England deemed it expedient to seize Suakim. An Egyptian railway to Berber, following the pathway of Chinese Gordon, was undertaken in the following year. Other lines were developed, amounting to one thousand two hundred miles of track. The telegraph was introduced, and five thousand four hundred and thirty miles of wire was stretched from point to point, mostly in Lower Egypt. The British army of occupation, numbering about fifteen thousand men, was placed under command of General Sir Herbert Kitchener, to whom the Egyptian title of *Sirdar* was given.

After the death of Gordon at Khartoum, and the subsequent overthrow of the Mahdists, the latter lay low in the deserts for several years. But in 1896, Egypt was again threatened by the

Dervishes. In the interval, Great Britain had adopted the policy of creating an army of native Egyptians.

“Said England unto Pharoah, ‘I must make a man of you,  
 That will stand upon his feet and play the game;  
 That will Maxim his oppressor, as a Christian ought to do.’”  
 And she sent old Pharoah, Sergeant Whatisname.  
 It was not a Duke nor Earl, nor yet a Viscount,  
 It was not a big brass General that came,  
 But a man in khaki kit who could handle men a bit,  
 With his bedding labeled Sergeant Whatisname.

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There were years that no one talked of : there were times of horrid doubt;  
 There was faith and hope and whacking and despair;  
 While the Sergeant gave the Cautions, and he combed old Pharoah out,  
 And England did n’t look to know nor care.

\* \* \* \* \*

But he did it on the cheap and on the quiet,  
 And he’s not allowed to forward any claim—  
 Though he drilled a black man white, though he made a mummy fight,  
 He will still continue Sergeant Whatisname.”

The success of this work, so graphically described by Kipling, was extraordinary. In a short time “Old Pharoah fought like Sergeant Whatisname.” The native British contingent in the Sirdar’s army was diminished, while the Egyptian contingent was correspondingly increased. In the spring of 1896, Kitchener advanced up the Nile. At Firkeh, the Dervishes were defeated. In September, Dongola was finally reached and occupied. This feat concluded the work of the expedition, but it was in reality only the opening suggestion of the re-occupation of Khartoum and Omdurman. When this was done a position far to the south was gained from which the Anglo-Egyptian hand might be stretched—as indeed it has already been stretched—to the south as if to clutch the hand, let

us say, the hand of Cecil Rhodes reaching from Cape Colony and Rhodesia with his Cape and Cairo Railway lying in the palm. It is from this point of view that the Egyptian question in the northeast touches the South African question on the battleground in the upper valleys of the Orange River.

In the next place, as to the SUDAN. This is the name given by the Arabs to the great region south of the Sahara. More exactly it is *Bildad-es-Sudan*; that is Land of the Blacks. Such nomenclature, however, is by no means exact, for the Sudanese population include at least three general ethnic divisions of mankind. First, we may enumerate the Semitic Arabs themselves. Secondly, the Hamites; some of whom are still comparatively pure in descent from the ancients, but most of whom are mixed with native races, thus becoming the Tibus, the Tuaregs, and the Fulahs; and thirdly, the Negroes of the Bantu stock, pure and mixed. The latter are the true aborigines, and, numerically, are still vastly in excess of the other ethnic divisions.

Territorially the country under consideration may be spoken of, first as the *Egyptian* Sudan, reaching from Upper Egypt four hundred miles southward to Lake Albert Nyanza, a territory estimated to contain about one million square miles, with a population supposed to number fully ten million souls. The second division may be properly designated as *French* Sudan, having its seat in the basin of the Niger and extending northward to the borders of Algeria. The third region is known as West or Central Sudan. This is a *British* overlap, embracing an aggregate of five hundred and sixty-eight thousand square miles. This includes Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast with Ashanti, Lagos with Yorubaland, and Niger-Benué with the Oil River country. In the

fourth place Germany has gained possession of a small fragment of the Sudan lying on the Slave coast between Ashanti and Dahomey, and to this is given the name of *West Tongaland*. Portugal also has an insignificant Sudanese possession. It was in the *East* Sudan that Dr. Schweinfurth, in 1870-72, conducted his successful explorations, completing a geographical knowledge of the Nile and the Congo systems of rivers. Ten years afterwards, two eminent explorers, Dr. M. Y. Dybowski and M. Maistre, were sent by France into the Lake Chad Basin. By them some of the remaining problems of African geography were solved. Up to the close of the century, the Sudan as a whole was a kind of *subjective* region, inviting penetration and conquest, but exerting no active historical influence on the progress of the age.

In the third place, as to NATAL. This, as we have formerly explained, was at first a part of the Cape territories. At least, it was claimed to be such by the British. As early as 1824, Lieutenant Farewell made his way with twenty companions from Cape Town into the country of the lower Tugela and undertook to plant a colony there. To this end he made a treaty with Chaka the native king. But Chaka was presently killed, and the enterprise of British settlement was postponed.

We have seen also how the Boers first *trekked* into this region, and then, in 1833-34, made the so-called "Great Trek," and withdrew into what was to become the Orange Free State. British influence and, in a measure, British settlement followed in the wake of the Great Trek, and Natal was colonized. It is the peculiarity of all such situations that the British element in a given population speedily becomes the governing element. The political skill of the English race and the inborn purpose to master

all things combine to give the lead to the British part of a population, even when that part is sparsely distributed.

It must be observed that the commercial instinct leads to this feature of history. Political organization is the wagon in which commerce goes to market. Therefore, the Briton organizes effectively, strongly. He wishes to make a way for trade. Trade requires protection, and protection signifies a military force for defense. The military force demands political authority behind it. Therefore, says the theorem, organize and govern, if you would have a market.

Thus it was in Natal. By the summer of 1845, the business had proceeded sufficiently far to warrant the annexation of the territory to Cape Colony. Then, in the same year, a local government was organized, and a Lieutenant-Governor was sent out from Cape Town. He was given a Council of four members, and a legislative Assembly to assist in law-making and administration.

This form of dependency on the parent colony was retained in Natal for eleven years. But in 1856, the province became independent of the Cape government; the legislative body was enlarged to sixteen members, and relations were established directly with the Colonial office in London. After this the governmental evolution proceeded in the usual way. The beginnings of a ministry were made in 1869. The governor claimed and exercised the right to nominate a certain number of the representatives. This implied their responsibility to him. The head of the colony, however, continued to be designated as Lieutenant-Governor until the year 1882. After that a Governor-General was appointed by the Colonial office of the empire.

At first the territorial limits of Natal were not clearly defined.

INTERIOR OF A KAFFIR HUT.

NATIVE CHIEFS AND BOERS.

On the east the country was bounded by the ocean; on the south by Fondo-land; on the west, by East Griqualand and Basutoland, the Drakensburg Range, and the Orange Free State; on the north, by the Buffalo River and the Transvaal.

The area thus included in Natal is 20,460 square miles. The coast line is 200 miles in extent. Centrally situated on the coast are the port (Port Natal) and town of Durban. To anticipate the narrative which is to follow, we should here point out also the position of Pietermaritzburg, Colenso, Ladysmith, Glencoe, Dundee and, indeed, all of the other important places which became known to the world as Natalese towns in the first acts of the Boer-British war. The first contention in that struggle in a military and strategical sense was for the possession of Natal. That province, being a British protectorate, constituted the most practicable approach for the British forces into the territories of the Two Republics.

Already, before the discovery of the great gold deposits at Johannesburg and the diamond fields at Kimberley, the Natal colony began to flourish. A considerable commerce found its exit through the port of Durban. Nearly four centuries had now elapsed since Vasco da Gama, on Christmas Day, in 1497, had entered that harbor and named the country *Terra Natalis*, Land of the Nativity. How slowly germinate the seeds of the successive orders and epochs in the civilized life of man!

It was in the period referred to that internal improvements began to be promoted. Within the limits of the colony about four hundred miles of railway were constructed. The principal line extends from Durban into the Transvaal, the southern boundary of which is distant from the port three hundred and six miles. By the beginning of the tenth decennium, the population had increased

to five hundred and forty-four thousand souls. Since that period, Natal has become still more closely identified with the parent colony at the Cape. The British ascendancy was strengthened from year to year, so that by the outbreak of the Transvaal war, there was as much opposition to the British purpose in Cape Colony itself as in the province of Natal. As the war developed, however, Great Britain put forth strenuous efforts to maintain the loyalty of her South African colonies.

Three territories lying contiguous to Natal may be mentioned in connection therewith. Both are within the storm center of the war of 1899. Griqualand East and Basutoland lie at the eastern and northeastern extremity of Cape Colony. The former, according to current geography, is the northern part of Kaffraria, bounded by the Umzimkwe, which discharges at Port Shepstone. Griqualand East has for its principal stream the St. John's River, and for its chief towns, Kokstad, Mount Frere, and Omtatta. The coast reaches down to where the British grip on the continent begins to be better defined, at the Great Kei River. Griqualand East, lying in the situation indicated, and Griqualand West, which has now been absorbed in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, formerly extended from the coast on the southeast to the upper branch of the Orange River on the northwest where Griquatown is situated, and where the Kimberley diamond fields lie spread with their sparkling treasures.

Basutoland is held on the north by the Orange Free State, and on the east by Natal. This region, more than Natal, is peopled by the natives who are a branch of those warlike Kaffirs with whom both the British and the Dutch have had to contend time and again for the mastery. The country is a rugged, almost moun-

tainous, highland. It is a grazing region, well adapted to the production of cattle, of which the Basutos have great herds.

The British ascendancy began here with the annexation of the country to Cape Colony, in August of 1871. At first there was no separate government, but only a provincial dependency deriving its authority from that of the Cape. In 1884, however, a resident commissioner was sent out from the Colonial office of the empire, and Basutoland was governed thereafter as a separate district. In no other part of the British South African dependencies is the disproportion between the native and the foreign population greater than in Basutoland, amounting according to the census of 1891, to three hundred and seventy-two Basutos to every European!

This fact complicated the military problem not a little at the beginning of the Transvaal war—this for the reason that the attitude of the Basutos, as to their loyalty or disloyalty to the British authorities, could not well be known. Their disposition and war-like character were such as to make them a dangerous element in the conflict. The Basuto territory, as at present constituted, is estimated at ten thousand two hundred and ninety-three square miles.

Zululand is another dependency proximate to the scene of the Transvaal conflict. This district is what remains of the formerly extensive country of the warlike Zulu-Kaffirs. The fierce conflict of the British with these people, which occurred between January and August of 1879, will be readily recalled. Zululand was invaded by a British army, in which the Prince Imperial of France was a volunteer subordinate officer. At this time the Zulus were ground between the Boer millstone on the north and the British nether-stone on the south. They were pressed into submission. The

country was divided among eleven of the principal chiefs. A civil war came afterward, lasting, with successive outbreaks, until 1884, when Zululand, narrowed to its present proportions of four thousand five hundred and twelve square miles, was forced into a state of quietude.

Good government was difficult under native auspices, and in 1887, a British protectorate was established in Zululand. In 1895, the protectorate was extended over Tongaland to the southern boundary of Portuguese East Africa. Bordering on the latter country, and between it and the South African Republic, lies the little dependency of Swaziland, extending from the Lebombo range to the Drakensberg.

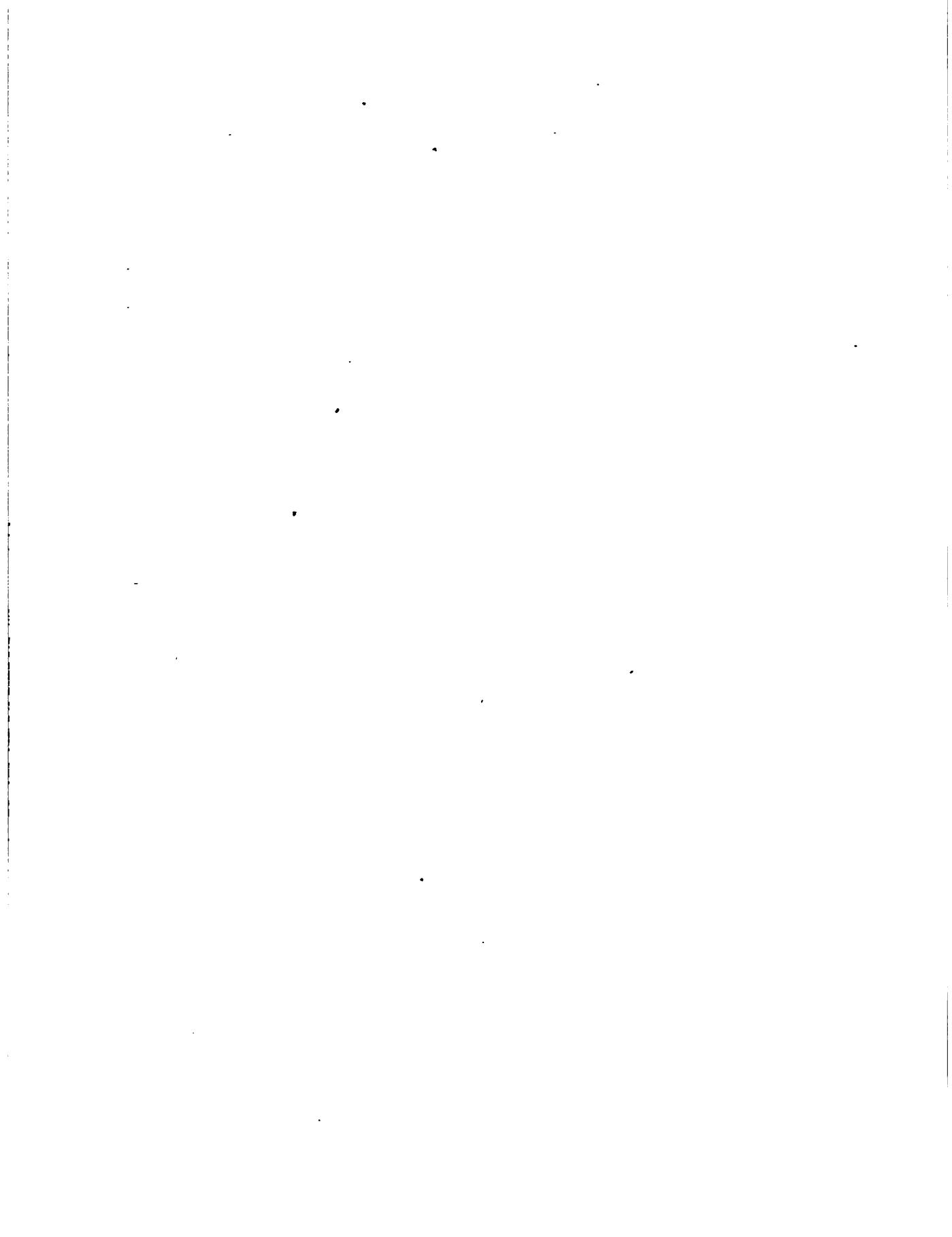
In the fifth place, as to BECHUANALAND. No other region perhaps in South Africa has, in recent years, attracted a larger amount of interested attention than has Bechuanaland. This also has become a dependency of the British government under the title of "Bechuanaland Protectorate." The country lies between the Molopo and the Zambesi. On the east it is bordered by Matebeland and the South African Republic. On the west, it extends to German Southwest Africa. The dominion, once only a small district, now includes three hundred and eighty-six thousand square miles.

This region was, from of old, the land of the Bechuanas. The latter appear to be a subordinate division of the Kaffir race. They are above the average of Africans in stature, figure, and bearing. The complexion of the people is an amber brown, tinged with yellow or red. They are warlike and predatory, and their numbers are so great that no adequate census has ever been prepared.

It was not until the year 1890, that Bechuanaland was placed under jurisdiction of a British governor. This scheme continued

in force for five years when the country was annexed to Cape Colony. A new arrangement was then made for the administration. Old Bechuanaland, around which the wider dominion of the protectorate was extended so greatly, had possessed an area of scarcely sixty thousand square miles. The dominion of the Protectorate became more than six times as great. But even this vast territorial expansion did not by any means equal the increased importance of Bechuanaland on the score of the incalculable wealth which was discovered in the soil.

Within this region lie the diamond fields of Kimberley. The towns of Mafeking and Vryburg, the names of which suggest the important mineral wealth which they contain, are Bechuana centers. The old industries, which already supplied a great export trade of corn and wool and hides, have been supplanted in this famous region by a wealth of precious metals and still more precious stones, the like of which has hardly been equalled in the history of mankind. The discovery of this mineral treasure has added incalculably to the wealth of the world and as yet the ground has hardly been touched. Millions of dollars of European capital have been invested in the mining properties and the interruption of these activities made itself seriously felt in the world's financial centers.



## CHAPTER IX

### THE EPOCH OF PARTITION

Before proceeding with an outline of the history of the two Dutch Republics of South Africa, it is desirable to take a survey of the whole field of transformation during the last twenty-five years of the century. In the first place, we may refer *seriatim* to the several international conferences which have been held, by the actions of which the present map of Africa, with all of its startling features, has been produced.

The first of these conferences, of which we have hitherto given no account, was the Conference of Brussels, held in September of 1876. The primary motives, by which the calling of this body and its actions were inspired, were the contemplated explorations of Africa and the hoped-for civilization of the continent by European agencies. This, of course, involved the discussion of the *means* by which the interior of the continent should be reached and its treasures be made accessible to the world.

Of all the royal and princely personages who, in our age, have given their favor to the enterprise of Europeanizing Africa, Leopold, King of the Belgians, has been easily first. This monarch is a man of genius and ambition. He found himself, in middle life, pent in a narrow kingdom, and he could discover no field for adequate expansion except in Africa or the Oriental islands. His resources were not great, but he made up for the deficiency by such activity and skillful arrangement of forces as to make him, in some sense, the first royal personage of the age. The single fact that he was able

to take Henry M. Stanley from the other patrons whom he held *in re* or *in posse* was a sufficient proof of the adroitness and enterprise which Leopold displayed in the whole African business, to which he has given the better part of his life and fortune.

In the year 1876, the King of the Belgians invited to his capital a number of international publicists to consider with him the plans which he had evolved. He thought it well to undertake the civilization of a continent. He would bring that continent into the general circle of commerce and enlightenment. He would bring to bear all the agencies of Europe for the extinguishment of the slave-trade and slavery itself.

The conference which the king called was the opening act in that drama of transformation which has extended itself to the present day. Leopold was watching with profound interest the movements of Stanley. At this time, the explorer was in the darkest maze and tangle of his work. He was marching from Lake Tanganyika to Nyangwe. He had not yet found the Lualaba, and much less had he demonstrated the identity of that river with the Congo. To adopt his own story, he had not yet, in banter with one of his leaders, cast up the penny on the fall of which he was to decide whether he would follow the Lualaba or take another branch which would have led him into chaos. The penny indeed said that he should take *the other branch*. But with the perversity and audacity of inspiration, he renounced the decision of the penny, and took the Lualaba; hence the Congo and the sea!

Of this great matter in the far interior of Africa, Leopold had no knowledge when the Conference of 1876 was convened. He had only a vague dream that he should ever be able to secure the services of Stanley in the interest of himself and Belgium. Meanwhile he

ZULU FIGHTING.

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ZULU WEDDING DANCE.

dreamed of other things. At one time he formed a plan for the acquisition of a part of Borneo, or, missing that, some other island in the tropical Pacific.

On the 12th of September, 1876, the Conference of Brussels convened. Representatives were present from Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia. They were not sent thither by the governments of the countries named, but rather by the geographical societies and other progressive organizations in the various countries. Of these bodies most of the representatives were presidents or secretaries. The king of the Belgians himself appeared in the conference in his private capacity; he acted personally and not as the crown.

The sessions of the conference were brief; only three days were consumed in the meetings. The principal, and, indeed, the only important action taken, was the institution of the International African Society, to the work of which we have so many times referred. This important body was organized, and its seat was fixed in Brussels. The plan contemplated the appointment of sub-committees to have their headquarters in the principal capitals of Europe. Such committees should be contributory to the main society, the purpose of which was declared to be the promotion of exploring enterprises and civilizing movements in Central Africa.

As soon as this important meeting had adjourned, the question was taken up in London. The Royal Geographical Society laid its hand on the helm, but it was not the Brussels helm. Indeed it could hardly be expected that the British would long follow the lead of Leopold. The Royal Geographical Society, therefore, instead of sending a commission to Brussels, organized an independent African Exploration Fund. This was in March of 1877. Divers

African explorations were planned, the principal one of which was entrusted to the management of the young explorer, Joseph Thomson, who was authorized to proceed as the representative of British interests only.

In other countries, however, such as Germany, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, Russia, and the United States, branches of the International African Association were formed, and in June of 1877, a meeting of the Central Committee was held in Brussels. A considerable fund had already been subscribed, and before the end of the year an expedition was dispatched to determine the character of the country between Lake Tanganyika and the Indian Ocean. This expedition struck inland from Zanzibar in the year following its appointment, and made its way to the east shore of Tanganyika, where the German trading station and settlement called Karema was founded.

The movement thus begun, however, did not proceed very far until history, which may, in Shakespeare's phrase, be regarded as the one "unquestionable spirit" of the world, took its own course and left all man-plans go awry. For one thing, Henry M. Stanley, who had gone over to the service of the King of the Belgians, having now made his way down the Congo, arrived at Marseilles in January of 1878. He brought with him the greatest single contribution to geographical knowledge ever made by man. Already he had sent before him certain letters which had awaked the interest of all Christendom in the conditions and prospects of Central Africa.

It is not our purpose, however, in this connection to follow the subordinate lines of the great story. We are to speak only of the successive Congresses that were the evolved and evolving agencies of

the forward march. The second of these was, as we have seen, the great Conference of Berlin, held in the year 1884. To this meeting and its work we have already devoted a chapter. We have seen how, under its auspices, the map of Africa began to be greatly modified. Events moved forward, for about five years, on the lines which took their origin from the Berlin Congress. At length, however, the affairs of the Dark Continent got into such complexity as to demand another discussion, at least on the part of two of the principal nations.

These two nations were Germany and Great Britain. The enlargement of the "sphere" of the former power in East Africa had continued until the dominion of the Sultan of Zanzibar was about to be included in Germany! But the British sphere also enlarged itself, and the French sphere likewise, until before the end of 1885, a commissioner had to be appointed by the three governments to decide how much of the territorial spoil each should have.

At this time, Emin Pasha was at work in the Equatorial region, and was thought to be surrounded by the Mahdists at Wadelai, on the Upper Nile. To rescue him—albeit, the result showed that he did not greatly need or appreciate a rescue—Stanley set out up the Congo in the beginning of 1877. In the meantime, Dr. Karl Peters, founder of the German Colonization Society and head of the German East Africa Company, had undertaken a second exploring expedition in the eastern part of the continent, which resulted after two or three years in his being appointed Imperial Commissioner of the German Protectorate. It thus happened that while Stanley was in the interior, and Peters was exploring in the same region, the two expeditions, in the language of Keltie, "played at

hide-and-seek with each other for some time, but never met."\* This condition of affairs led to what is called the Anglo-German agreement of 1890, which was the *third* African international compact of the epoch. When Stanley, on the south shore of Victoria Nyanza, found Emin Pasha, the necessity for "relieving" that diligent but eccentric explorer had passed; for an agreement had already been reached between the two governments concerned, and the "sphere" of each had been so determined that Emin Pasha's further efforts to extend the dominion of his country were useless. A line of demarcation between the British assumption and that of Germany had been declared.

By this compact, Germany retired to the north of the boundary which was drawn from the Umbo to the eastern shore of the lake. Great Britain was left to claim all the coast country north of the river Jub. This region had already been declared by the British East Africa Company to be a protectorate. The boundary line was extended across Victoria Nyanza, and thence westward to the eastern boundary of the Congo Free State. On this basis, the adjustment was confirmed as to the two nations concerned, and was accepted by the others.

Already, however, a more formal and important conference was on at Brussels. Nearly two years previously, namely, in September of 1888, the Marquis of Salisbury had sent a dispatch to the British representative at the Belgian capital, suggesting that the king should call a conference of the Powers to contrive measures for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade. This meeting, which was the *fourth* of the series, was accordingly designated as the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference. The body assembled

\* "The Partition of Africa," by J. S. Keltie, page 354.

in November of 1889, and the sittings were continued until July of the following year, when the proceedings were brought to a close. The results were recorded in an agreement, the substance of which, as summarized by McDermot in his work entitled *British East Africa*, was as follows:

1. Progressive organization of the administrative, judicial, religious and military services in the African territories placed under the sovereignty or protectorate of civilized nations.
2. The gradual establishment in the interior, by the Powers to which the territories are subject, of strongly occupied stations in such a way as to make their protective or repressive action effectively felt in the territories devastated by slave-hunting.
3. The construction of roads, and in particular of railways, connecting the advanced stations with the coast, and permitting easy access to the inland waters, and to such of the upper courses of the rivers and streams as are broken by rapids and cataracts, in view of substituting economical and rapid means of transport for the present means of carriage by men.
4. Establishment of steamboats on the inland navigable waters and on the lakes, supported by fortified posts established on the banks.
5. Establishment of telegraphic lines, ensuring the communication of the posts and stations with the coast and with the administrative centers.
6. Organization of expeditions and flying columns to keep up the communication of the stations with each other and with the coast, to support repressive action, and to ensure the security of high-roads.
7. Restriction of the importation of fire-arms, at least of

modern pattern, and of ammunition, throughout the entire extent of the territories infected by the slave-trade.

It will be noted from the tenor and subject-matter of the foregoing clauses, that the Brussels Conference of 1890 was concerned more about the social and industrial possibilities of Central Africa than it was about the political divisions thereof. But the partition of the continent had, in the meantime, gone steadily forward, as if the process were enlivened by its own principles and momentum, as indeed it was.

By the date of the close of the Brussels Conference of 1890, a new map of Africa had, as it were, presented itself for the acceptance of the world. Its principal features of change are as follows: German Southwest Africa had extended itself far into the interior, until with a narrow frontier it touched the headwaters of the Zambesi. The Congo Free State had enlarged itself on the southeast by dropping down until, in the very center of South Africa, it lay against the borders of the British protectorate. German East Africa had taken for its permanent eastern boundary the ocean from Cape Delgado to Pongwe, about three degrees north of the island of Zanzibar. From that point the boundary lay to the northwest to its intersection with the east shore of Victoria Nyanza. From this line northward to Abyssinia and westward to the headwaters of the Congo, that is, to the watershed between those waters and those which flow into the Nile, was constructed the vast territory called Imperial British East Africa.

The Portuguese coast was confirmed from Cape Delgado southward to Tongaland. Cape Colony had enlarged itself in an imperial way to the north. Basutoland and Natal were included on the east. Part of Bechuanaland became a crown colony and the vast

remainder a British protectorate. From the parallel of twenty-two south latitude, measuring northward, began the immense region known as British South Africa, which extends northward to the Congo Free State and German East Africa, and on the east to Lake Nyassa and the Portuguese possessions.

Many other changes had also taken place in the five-year period preceding 1890. The various British possessions lying between the Cameroons and French Senegal had been enlarged and defined. It appeared at this time that the contention of Great Britain for the possession of the valley of the Niger would be determined in her favor. The Royal Niger Chartered Company had laid its claim between the German Cameroons and the French Colony of Benin, and had extended the same far up the river to about the fourteenth parallel of north latitude. The Spanish protectorate, reaching from Cape Blanco to Cape Juby, opposite the Canaries, had been recognized and confirmed. Vast regions in the interior, however, still remained to be appropriated at the beginning of the tenth decennium, and it is the after part of the scramble which has given character to history in this quarter of the globe at the close of the century.

This struggle has gone on with such rapidity, so many threatenings and reconciliations, and such astonishing results, that on the whole the partition of Africa, which has now been virtually completed, presents the most marvelous geographical and political transformation which has ever been witnessed in human progress in a like period of time.

Let us, then, briefly contemplate the African map as it presented itself in the year 1895. By this time not a single district on the coast of the continent, except the Sultanate of Morocco on the north-

west, and the vilayet of Tripoli on the north, reaching from Tunis to the borders of Egypt, had escaped the foreign domination. Perhaps the little republic of Liberia ought also to be excepted, as that is virtually a native state.

In the case of Egypt likewise, the question of dependency may be raised, for that is still nominally a Turkish tributary. The Nubian desert, as well, from the southern boundary of Egypt to the northeastern angle of the Italian protectorate, where the same touches the Red Sea, about one hundred miles south of Suakim, may be considered as African rather than European territory. As to the interior, south of the Negro Sultanate of Wadi, which has its limit about the eighth parallel of north latitude, not a single scrap of Africa, except the small region between Angola and the British Central Protectorate, remains under native control. All of the rest of the continent, which measures 11,621,530 square miles, and bears a total population of (approximately) 140,000,000 souls, has passed under the dominion of the European nations.

For better or for worse, this result has come to pass. It is a historical fact with which, independently of its antecedents, the present and the future must deal according to the wisdom that is in the nations. If the ancient virus of selfishness in the race could be neutralized with some benevolent antidote, and if the brutal law of competition should cease to be the prevailing force with men and nations, then the work of regenerating Africa would certainly afford the most beautiful and salubrious field for human exertion to be found in all the earth.

Dropping the forecast, however, let us look attentively at what is. On the northwest, the French Protectorate has spread southward to include the country to about the fifteenth parallel of

DIAMOND WASHING MACHINE—KIMBERLEY.

THE VASSI TO N DIAMOND MINE, KARAFELLAY.

north latitude, where it reaches the territory of the Royal Niger Company of Great Britain. Thence the French sphere spreads westward and southward to the ivory coast of Guinea and to the Atlantic shores from Cape Blanco to Gambia.

As we have said, the French sphere is, territorially considered, the greatest of all the European dependencies in Africa. Between the years 1890 and 1895, the Spanish Protectorate carried its boundaries into the interior until a large, though not very promising, province was established—this on the northwest border of the continent. On the whole, by the date just named, the *red* of Great Britain had diffused itself more and more over the map, particularly in the south. The Imperial dominions at this juncture extended centrally from the eighth to the thirty-fifth parallel of south latitude, a distance of more than two thousand miles. Strangely enough, the British expansion was, in this instance, altogether towards the interior and not maritime.

On the west, from the equator to the mouth of the Orange River, the country was wholly occupied by the great dependencies of France, Portugal and Germany. In the interior, the Congo Free State had been allowed to enlarge itself, mostly by the suggestion of the rivers and the mountains, to French Ubangi on the north; to British East Africa and German East Africa on the east; to British Central Africa and Angola on the south.

The outlines of German East Africa we have already traced in a preceding paragraph.\* By the year under consideration (1895), the eastern, half-peninsular projection of the continent had passed almost wholly to the dominion of Italy, whose protectorate, as we have seen, extended from a short distance south of Suakin to the

\*See page 153.

equatorial line. Within this region, however, on the gulf of Aden and looking to the north, lies the little Somaliland protectorate of Great Britain. Out of this general view we have left for special notice in the following two chapters the South African Republics of the Dutch; that is, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal or South African Republic.

For the present chapter, we conclude the discussion of the political aspect with the following summary of relative areas, populations, and averages to the square mile, of the various European dependencies in the Dark Continent, and also the native remainder. It will be seen, as a general result, that more than 9,000,000 square miles out of a total of a little more than 11,500,000 square miles have passed from native to foreign control, and this does not include among the foreign dependencies Egypt or Liberia.

#### SUMMARY OF AFRICAN STATISTICS, 1895.\*

NAME OF PARENT STATE.	AREA SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.	INHABITANTS TO THE SQUARE MILE.
French Africa.....	8,826,790	30,089,000	9.6
British Africa.....	2,194,880	43,227,700	20.
Belgian Africa (Congo).....	905,090	16,800,000	18.
German Africa.....	884,810	8,870,000	9.4
Portuguese Africa.....	826,730	5,472,000	6.6
Italian Africa.....	548,880	5,150,000	8.
Dutch Africa (Republics) .....	177,750	764,000	4.
Spanish Africa.....	158,884	448,000	8.
Total European Africa .....	9,018,760	112,545,700	12.
Native Africa.....	2,602,770	16,990,000	6.5
All Africa.....	11,621,530	189,535,700	12.

Concerning this summary of areas, populations, etc., we should remark that under the head of population, the native races living

\*Deduced from Keltie's "Partition of Africa," pp. 519-521.

within the European dependencies are, of course, included with the small sprinkling of Europeans proper. The real white population of these vast areas is small. Indeed the whites could not be reckoned in the aggregate of Africa but for their governing control, and for the fact that they are supported with adequate military forces from the European centers of power.

To the foregoing statistical facts certain social and anthropological considerations of great importance must be added. Africa ought to be viewed as a whole *with respect to its receptivity of civilization*; that is, civilization according to the European standards. Of what use can the continent be made to the high contracting powers that possess it and struggle for it, unless there be a potency of something to be gained by the tremendous movement? Let us, then, note a few of the still more general features which suggest or contradict the partition of Africa with a view to Europeanizing the continent.

Within the more than eleven and a half million square miles of African territory exist nearly all the ultimate resources of human progress; but they exist under conditions which will make them difficultly obtainable by the possessors. It is one thing, for instance, to possess a fertile territory, and it is another thing that the fecundity of that territory shall offer itself freely to human exertion.

Certainly not all of the natural elements of wealth are to be found in the African receptacle. For example, all of those resources which are peculiar to the borderland of snow must be omitted from the count. This will include the hardier and more enduring forms of timber, the fur-bearing animals, etc. It will also exclude certain important cereals and root products, the cultivation of which follows the fluctuations of temperature and season. For the

rest, Africa possesses all; and it might almost be said that she offers nothing. Like the Klondike deposits of gold, lying under fifteen or twenty feet of impenetrable ice, the natural wealth of Africa, though with conditions totally reversed, is nearly all protected by tropical heats, blankets of malaria, and ferocious aspects of nature which repel all but the most courageous of men.

Over and above this there is a still larger consideration. Africa, more than any other continent, repels commerce. The sea-coast line of the continent, measuring around from the Delta of Egypt to the Delta again, is about fifteen thousand miles in extent. It is, throughout, the smoothest coast line in the world. One has only to glance at the outline to see its bayless and harborless character. Notwithstanding the great size of the continent, the shoreline circumference is fully four thousand miles less than that of Europe, which continent is only one-third the area of Africa! The European coast is eaten in everywhere with bays, inlets and harbors innumerable; but the coast of Africa from beginning to end has not one important indentation! How can such a continent yield itself freely to the demands of the commercial world?

To this great defect, however, there is some compensation. A large number of great rivers flow with tremendous volume from the far interior of Africa, thus opening water channels for the admission of ships. Of this kind is the immemorial Nile; also the Niger; and perhaps most resourceful of all, the Congo. In South Africa, the Orange and the Zambesi have their tributaries in the same interior. Towards the center of the continent lie the great lakes—the Victoria Nyanza, Nyassa, Tanganyika, the two Alberts, Lake Chad and several others, each with its own extensive water drainage and system of streams. To the extent here indicated,

Africa is *penetrable*, and the commercial resources of the interior may be got to the borderland of ocean. For the rest, the coast seems to forbid the approach of ships more than does the shore of any other major division of the earth.

Still another question arises—that of temperature. Africa is tropical. It is the most tropical of all the countries of the globe, and therefore has the greatest zone of heat. Hence the human frame and faculties are exhausted from relaxation. Only South America is comparable in position with the African continent. But South America is climatically ameliorated by many conditions which make even her tropical belt both delightful and salubrious, as well as productive. On the west, the great Andes rise, making residence desirable for Europeans and Americans, even under the equatorial line.

North of that line, South America has but little more than ten degrees of territory. The high interior of Brazil, drained by the tributaries of the Amazon, is habitable by men of all races. The climate is by no means intolerable at any point on the eastern coast of South America. The most insalubrious part is the district lying between the delta of the Orinoco and the mouth of the Amazon.

In Africa, the mollifying conditions do not exist; or they exist to such a limited extent, chiefly in the southern and eastern part of the continent, that at no place within the tropics is there a really healthful and nerve-building environment for people of the Aryan race. And of this character of physical and mental discouragement is nearly the whole of the continent.

Africa, as we have said, is the tropical country par excellence. North of the tropic of Cancer, between that line and the Medi-

ranean, only about three million square miles of the whole area are included. At the other end of the continent, the region between the tropic of Capricorn and the sea has an area of less than one million square miles. All of the remainder, amounting to more than seven million six hundred thousand square miles, is within the tropics, and the torridity is appalling. Over the vast region the sun swings north and south, looking down vertically on desert and forest and interminable morass, heating the whole as if with fire and furnace steam, until it challenges the hardy races to enter or approach at the peril of their lives.

The emplacement of Africa in the vastness of the seas puts the continent under interdict as to those cheering vicissitudes of climate which seem to be so essential to the physical and mental vigor of mankind. Looking out from Africa in all directions, except to the north, there is nothing but a world of waters—of warm waters—which lave the shores from century to century, forbidding any material change of season or atmospheric condition. The ocean currents that reach the coast from distant seas, born, as they are, of the rotation of the earth and the pulsations of the deep, are all salt rivers of steam. The only exception is the cooler current which sweeps up the west shore from Benguela to the Congo delta. There is also a phenomenon of this kind off the coast of Spanish Africa, modifying favorably the temperature of that country.

It would appear, then, that on the whole, the common and traditional belief of mankind relative to the inhabitability of Africa by people of the Aryan stock is warranted by the facts as they are written eternally in the conditions of nature. The one race of men which seems to be invincible in the tropical parts of

the continent is the Nigritian race, whose millions sweat in nakedness and flourish in the mephitic atmosphere, unhurt by their environment. How, indeed, should it be otherwise, since the blacks are the survivors of an ethnic evolution which has destroyed all the rest?

After the negroes come the Hamites, who are the preponderating people in the country of the central lakes. After these are the Semitic Arabs, and the mixed breeds in which a percentage of white blood flows safely in the channels of the black. Finally come the intruding, conquering, masterful Europeans, whose mission, if we look no further than the morality of nature, seems to be the control, direction, use and abuse, of the vast native mass, in carrying out the blind purposes of human destiny.

In spite of all this, however, the economic nature-maps of Africa give evidences of vast and varied promises. Thus, for example, the Orographical Map, exhibiting the elevation of the different parts of the continent above the level of the sea, shows larger and still larger areas of high-up country that, under the dominion of civilization, must prove to be residence areas for large masses of progressive men. In Abyssinia, the mountain ranges rise easily above the level of ten thousand feet. There are spots under the very equator, between Victoria Nyanza and the sea, which ascend to the same great altitude. There are other and still greater regions, namely, in Abyssinia, surrounding the great lakes, around the South African coast, inland from Walfish Bay and Benguela, in Darfur, and in the mountainous region of Marocco, in which the highlands rise to the salubrious and nerve-making range of elevation between five thousand and ten thousand feet. The greater part of Africa, below the fifth parallel of south latitude, has an elevation of from

two thousand to five thousand feet above the sea. Other vast areas vary from five hundred to two thousand feet; and the remainder has an elevation of less than five hundred feet.

Yet again we may look with interest at the map which shows the range of navigable waters in Africa. This includes, first of all, a sea coast of fifteen thousand miles. On the west coast it includes the rivers Senegal, Gambia and Grande. It includes, in the next place, the tremendous Niger with its southern tributary; also the small rivers Gross, Mimi and Ogove. Of the navigability of the Congo we have already spoken; but the ascent of this great stream is broken for a considerable distance in the region of the falls and rapids. Above Stanley Pool, the stream again, together with no fewer than twelve of its tributaries, becomes navigable for river steamers of large capacity. At St. Paul de Loanda, the Coanza may be ascended for more than one hundred miles. On the east coast, the Limpopo, the Pungue, the Zambesi and the Shire, are reckoned as navigable streams. All of the great lakes of the interior are as navigable as our own. Finally, the Nile with its tributaries, except in the regions of the Falls and Cataracts, is navigable from about the fifth parallel of north latitude to the Mediterranean. All these conditions are favorable to the spread of European civilization, and are included among the commercial possibilities of Africa.

We thus conclude our survey of the continent as a whole, reserving the following chapters for the special consideration of the Dutch Republics in the south.

THE MARKET SQUARE, KIMBERLEY.

MINE OWNERS AND KAFFIR WORKMEN.

## CHAPTER X

### THE TWO REPUBLICS

In the preceding pages we have followed in outline the development of the various European *dependencies* in Africa. Besides these there are two independent *States*, which, having a European origin, have grown up on African soil, becoming commonwealths in the proper sense of the word. These are the **ORANGE FREE STATE** and the **SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC**.

Both of these commonwealths have been derived from European planting; but have been, for the most part, free from European patronage. They are, therefore, independent states. They are in exact analogy with the Old Thirteen Colonies of the United States before the Revolution. We shall now narrate the origin and development of these two singular democracies, standing alone, as they do, in a vast continent, having no foreign power behind them and nothing within them but their own rugged vitality.

There are, however, in Africa, two other divisions which are, in some measure, in the same category with the two republics of the Dutch. The other two are Liberia and the great Algerian dependency of France. The former is the unsatisfying result of an attempt to create a *native* republic, and the latter, though a colony, is in touch with the Republic of France, and is a derivative therefrom. French Congo also has this character. But for the rest, all of Africa has passed under the control of the European monarchies, insomuch that the Africa of to-day may be regarded as an appanage of the crowns of Europe.

Two groups of these immense dependencies, namely, those of Great Britain (the British group of provinces numbers ten) and those of Germany (the German group numbers three) are *imperial* in their derivation and development. Angola, the Congo Free State, Portuguese East Africa, the Italian protectorate, and the Spanish protectorate, are monarchial; that is, they are dependencies of monarchy. Since, however, they are not and cannot become integral parts of the monarchies to which they belong, these also assume the imperial character; for these colonial states, with the populations which they contain, are not homogeneous with the home government, but heterogeneous and detached parts thereof. Africa, therefore, as a whole, has become Imperial Africa. That is the aspect of the larger question. That is the significance of the division of the continent among the powers. The dependencies of France, even, give to the mother republic, or tend to give, the character of an empire; in so much that France is no longer simply a republic, but rather an Imperial Republic, spreading in the manner of her prototype, Imperial Rome, before the empire of Rome was declared.

To all this, then, the two Dutch republics are distinctly exceptional. They are not as yet parts of the imperial scheme. They do not surrender their democratic independence for the elusive advantages of an imperial connection. The significance of the conflict with which the century closes *relates emphatically to this exceptional standing and character of the remaining two free countries in South Africa.*

The Orange Free State, known originally as the Orange River Sovereignty, and afterwards as the Orange River Free State, had its origin, as we have seen in a former chapter, in an exodus of

the Dutch Boers out of Natal and Cape Colony across the south branch of the Orange River called the Caledon. The territory is bounded on the south by this stream through nearly its whole extent. On the east, the principal boundary is the Drakensburg range of mountains. On the north, the limit is the river Vaal and the river Buffalo, which is the tributary of the Tugela. On the west, the boundary is artificial, dividing, as it does, the Free State from Griqualand West. The shape and delimitation of the country show clearly enough that it was occupied in the first place and determined in its boundaries, not by surveyors with theodolites and diplomatical agents with note-books, but by *folks* seeking a home. Such irregularity of geographical outline may be noticed (and for the same reason) in all the older states of the American Union.

The settlement of the Orange Free State carries us far back towards the beginning of the seventeenth century. The first permanent colonization was effected by the Dutch in 1652. The country had been previously explored in a random way by a company of shipwrecked sailors whom a stranded Dutch vessel had cast ashore at Table Bay. No sooner had a settlement been made, than the first incoming ship from Holland brought recruits. Then it was, in 1654, that that peculiar breed of men, the Dutch Boer farmers, was established in the valley of the Orange. They were the sons and grandsons of the men who had fought Philip of Spain. They went to South Africa to seek a home, just as our forefathers came to New England and Virginia. They were descendants of the Dutch patriots who had won the freedom and independence of their country in the Lowlands of Europe. They were soon joined by refugees and exiles from several of the oppressed districts of the parent continent.

Thus, in the latter part of the century, came a band of French Huguenots into South Africa. Thus also, out of the Alpine valleys of Switzerland, came the Waldensians, and the Protestant Piedmontese. These brought with them the products and industrial methods of the home countries. They planted the vine in Boer-land. They added greatly to the prosperity of the Dutch colonists, with whom they easily combined and melted into a common type. It were hard to say whether the Dutch element or the refugee element predominated in the communities at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The non-Dutch contributions were so considerable that the language was infected and the institutions of the country modified. In 1724, the authorities decreed that the Dutch be the official language; French and other dialects were excluded from the schools and courts.

The climate of the region to which destiny had led the emigrant Boers, is rather dry, but especially healthful. The forests, of sub-tropical character, in some districts are fine. At the time of the Great Trek, many of the tropical animals, including the lion, the rhinoceros, the elephant, and the giraffe, were found, but all of these have disappeared; they too have trekked far into the safer interior! To the present day an occasional herd of antelope may be seen in the hill country. The soil is for the most part fertile, suggesting agricultural products, or, missing that, the pastoral life.

The Boers, once settled in their new homes, took naturally to their original manner of life, subject only to such modification as the environment made necessary. More than hitherto they became the breeders of cattle, horses, goats, sheep and ostriches. As for the mineral wealth, they gave not much heed, except to those resources which were immediately serviceable, such as coal and iron. For

the rest the country was laid out in farms. Orchards and vineyards were planted, and the Free State became an agricultural commonwealth. An export trade was established, the staple articles being wool, skins, ostrich feathers, and diamonds. For these an exit to foreign markets was found at Durban and Cape Town.

The autocracy of the Dutch leaders in the newly founded State became pronounced. Their relations with the natives were severe and at times oppressive. They took possession of the lands with the original inhabitants included, and the latter became virtually slaves. Though the Dutch were themselves farmers and artisans, they compelled the native serfs to perform the hand-labor requisite to the development of the country. A social condition supervened, not dissimilar to that in the old slave-holding colonies of the United States.

Perhaps the strongest hold for animadversion which the enemies of the Boers have in recent times, is their slaveholding propensity and habit. The word *slave* has a hard sound in the ear of civilization, and the leaders of affairs in all civilized countries avail themselves of the ignominious word in order to put opprobrium on all the slaveholding kind. At the same time, they who do this, while avoiding for themselves the odium attaching to downright chattel servitude, beat about and introduce social conditions which are virtually as servile and unequal and wretched as are found in outright slavery. The most progressive nations of the world have, in the present age, adopted the rôle of getting as near to the margin of chattel slavery as may be done without subjecting themselves thereby to the hostility of mankind. Thus have arisen the various "labor systems" of modern times. The Boers have been sufficiently culpable on the score of slaveholding, and it will be well if the

present crisis in South Africa shall teach them to abandon the system forever.

The master class in the Orange State did not content itself with the reduction of the Kaffirs and the Hottentots. The latter were a rude and pastoral race who did not yield their energies readily to the heavy toil of field and garden. They were clever in the care of flocks, but not capable as diggers. So the Boers looked abroad for slaves more serviceable. Many Negroes were brought from the interior, and also gangs of Bantus, who submitted to the required tasks. As in the case of our Old South, the slave class soon came to outnumber the whites. It appears, however, that the tendencies of slave-making were at length checked and reversed in the Orange River Sovereignty, and that by the time of the abolition in Cape Colony, namely in 1834, the whites had gained upon the slaves, who, in the open regions below the Orange River, numbered about twenty-five thousand.

It was at this juncture that the effort of the British authorities was made to *prevent*, rather than encourage, territorial expansion from the Cape. The Dutch settlement there, which had become an English possession, was regarded as a trading-station which ought to be fortified and strengthened; but no thought was as yet entertained of creating a broad colonial dependency. Therefore the spread of the colony was deprecated.

It has been said that the abolition of slavery was the cause of the Dutch migration into the interior. That movement, undertaken in 1824, had, however, a larger reason and motive. True, the agricultural system of the Dutch was undone by the act of emancipation, and that work greatly disturbed them. Nothing distresses a people more than the upheaval of the industrial system, whatever that

may be. Nothing will make a man fight more savagely than to disturb his farm. This of itself was no doubt sufficient to suggest the trekking of the Boers; but the larger reason was the impossibility of the co-dwelling of two master races in the same country. The Boers were a master race, and so were the English. They disagreed on many things, and particularly on the question of which should master the other. This was the most powerful motive prevailing in the epoch of the trek.

The movement under consideration could not be resisted. A system of migratory farming was adopted by the Boers, who would dwell for a season in one place, and for the next season in another. At each removal they laid out and planted fields and gathered a crop. Then the trek would be resumed. It was this process which carried the Boer population of the Cape northward and eastward, and diffused it through Natal, the Orange River Free State, and the Transvaal.

No certain statistics exist of the various populations of South Africa in the first quarter of the present century. It is thought that about the time of the beginning of the British ascendancy, that is, in 1806, the inhabitants of the Cape countries numbered about seventy-five thousand. Of these, one-third were Boer farmers, one-third were Hottentots, pure and mixed, who held a subject and servile relation to the Dutch; and the remaining third were imported black slaves. When British authority was established, Dutch authority receded from it. The fact that it receded into the *interior*—to be followed thither by the British—accounts for the anomalous character of the present map of South Africa, which shows the British protectorates, not on the coast, but rather precluded from the coast by the dependencies of other nations—this in the face of the fact

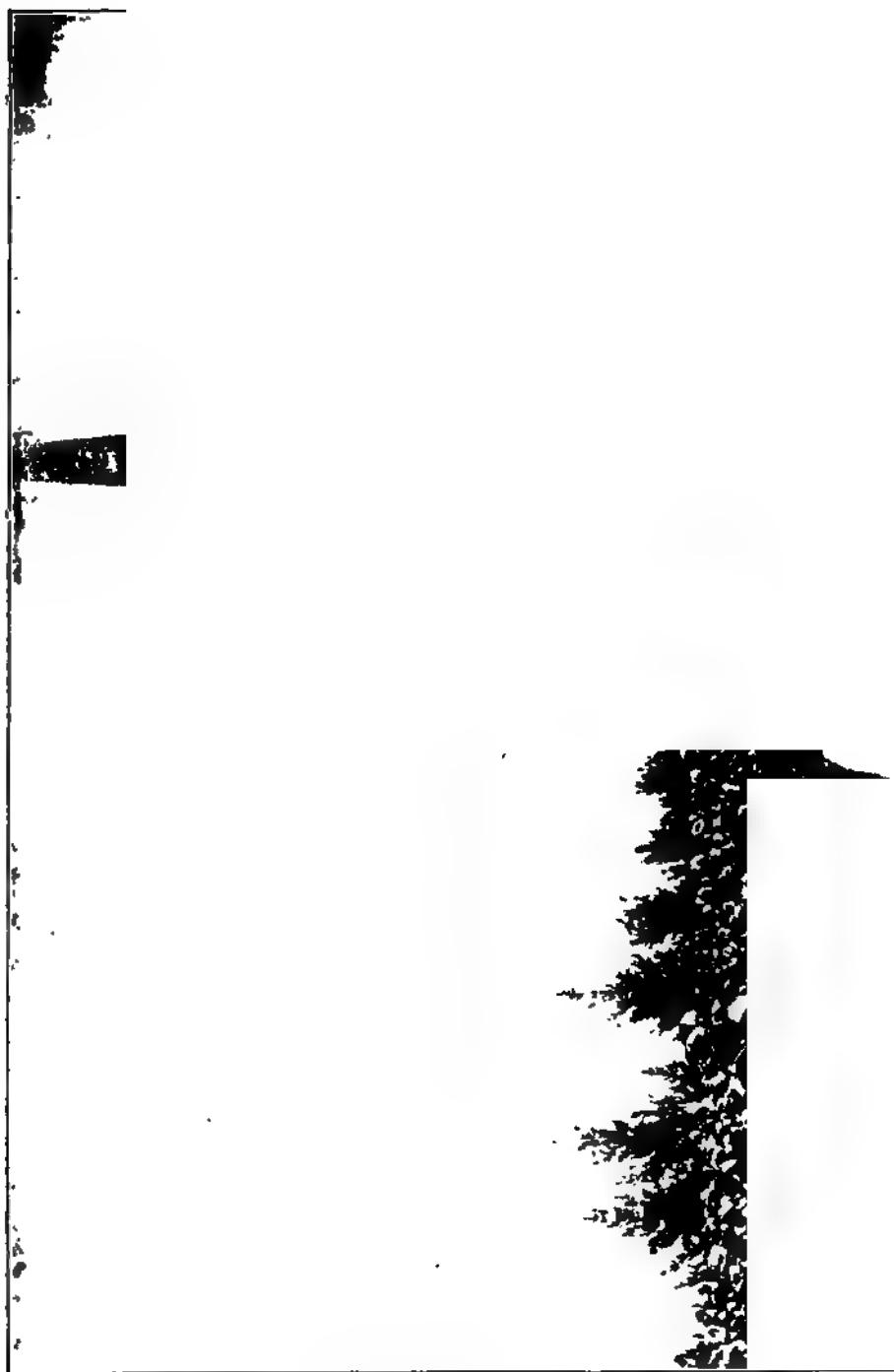
that Great Britain is the most singularly maritime power in the world.

Crossing the Orange River the trekkers settled in the country which, with the natural boundaries already stated, includes about forty-one thousand five hundred square miles. Here a republican government was organized, having the aristocratical characteristics much the same as did the old State governments in the slaveholding quarter of our republic. The Boers transported their institutions from the Cape and reestablished them in a land where they believed themselves to be safe from further interruption. The double trek had carried them first into Natal, and thence into the present Free State territory. Here the dominant class organized their government in a way to exclude from the franchise, land ownership, and the right to bear arms, the servile class of the population.

The capital of the country was established at Bloemfontein. The city is on the Modder River, two hundred miles to the northwest of Durban. The latitude is twenty-nine degrees eight minutes south, and the longitude is twenty-six degrees and forty minutes east. The town is pleasantly situated. The public buildings are worthy of the country and people. There is an unpretending Capitol, where the Volksraad or Popular Assembly holds its meetings, and where the high court sits; also a hall for the meetings of the municipal council of Burghers.

Before the discovery of gold in the Dutch States, Bloemfontein was no more than a small country town, but it was central to a large and productive district of country. By the year 1890, the population had increased to three thousand five hundred. The railroad northward from Elizabeth passes through Bloemfontein on its way to Johannesburg and Pretoria. In recent times telegraphic

DOWN IN A DIAMOND MINE-KIMBERLEY.



A MEETING AT THE LIBERTY MONUMENT, PAARDE KRAAL, KRUGERSDORP, NEAR JOHANNESBURG, THAT  
DECIDED TO PETITION PRESIDENT KRUGER TO STAND FIRM AGAINST ENGLAND.

communication has been opened from the city to Natal on the east, and to the more distant Cape Town on the southwest. Other places of considerable importance have sprung up, of which the principal are Fauresmith, Edenburg, Philippolis, Jacobsdal, Boshoff, Winburg, Hoopstad, Kronstad, Heilbron, Frankfort, Harrismith, Ladybrand, Ficksburg, Bethulie, Bethlehem, Smithfield, Rouxville, and Wepener.

Resuming the historical thread, we note the early conflict between the Dutch Boer immigrants with the natives north of the Orange. The aborigines of this region were the Griquas, who, finding themselves about to be included in a foreign dominion, appealed to the British authorities at Cape Colony for protection.

The Griquas, supported by the influence of the Colony, went to war. Sir Philip Maitland, Governor of Cape Colony, sent a body of British troops to the aid of the natives, and the Dutch were defeated at the battle of Zwart Koppeis, in 1845. This gave excuse for the establishment of a British residency north of the Orange River. That event was the opening wedge for still further assumption, and in 1848, Sir Harry Smith, who had succeeded Maitland as governor at the Cape, made a personal journey into the troubled region, and concluded from his observations that the best way to secure peace was to make a new dependency under British protection. Thus came the Orange River Sovereignty. Against this movement the Boers arose. Then, as already narrated, another fight occurred at Boomplaats, and a second time the Boers were worsted.

The Basuto war occurred in 1852. Governor Cathcart, of Cape Colony, sent an expedition against King Moshesh and his army of Basutos, who were defeated by the British in the battle of Berea.

Having gained thus much, the victorious British concluded to concede political autonomy to the Boer state; and this was done in February of 1854. Such action to the people of the Free State was the achievement of the independence which they so greatly coveted.

The date of this agreement made with the Boers by Sir George Clerk, special commissioner of Great Britain, was February 23, 1854. By the terms of the compact the Boers were released from all allegiance to the British crown, and were permitted to organize independently on a Republican basis. This they did, giving to their country the name of the Orange River Free State. The constitution which they adopted placed the executive power in the hands of a President. To him was given an Administrative Council. The legislative department was assigned to a Volksraad, or Congress, elected by the people. The judiciary was organized, and the new State entered upon a prosperous career which was not seriously disturbed until the gold fields were discovered at Johannesburg and Witwatersrand; that is, until the richness of these deposits was made known. Another great find was made at Barburton, the center of the Kopp region, near the frontier of Portuguese East Africa.

In this attitude, then, the people of the Orange Free State were placed when the suzerainty of Great Britain was declared, in a preliminary way, in 1877, to be relaxed, as the result of the war of 1880-81. That war reached its climax in the rout of the British at Majuba Hill. After that, British suzerainty was acknowledged in the convention of August in the year just named.

The circumstances of the colonization by the Dutch of the country north of the Vaal and south of the Limpopo, have been already indicated in the chapters on Cape Colony and the Orange Free State. The original rights of the Dutch at the Cape were

supplanted by the imposition of British authority early in the century as a result of the Napoleonic wars. That result was confirmed in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna. Then followed the period of British colonization, which was superimposed on the settlements of the Dutch.

Then, in 1834, came the abolition of slavery in the colonial dependencies of Great Britain, and the beginning of the migration of the Boers into the interior. The fretting of the two races—the aggression of the one and the resistance of the other—next led to the colonization of Natal. From this region the Boers were at length obliged to recede, and the Orange River Sovereignty was constituted as the refuge of the trekkers. This did not suffice, and Pretorius and his followers made their way across the Vaal. Here they found themselves among the aborigines, who were the Zulu-Kaffirs, Hottentots, and mixed races, who held the territory in the rude manner of barbarians. The trekkers did not attempt to expel the native inhabitants, but established themselves as the master race. In 1840, they organized the Republic, which, after nearly sixty years duration has been thrust, under the name of the South African Republic, into the foreground of history.

The great leaders of the Boers were Andrew Pretorius, Pieter Maritz, and Van Potgieter. These were the rough, but courageous, organizers of the sturdy government which took its seat at the new town named in honor of Pretorius. For twelve years the colony grew by accretions of Boer immigrants, and in January of 1852, the republic was recognized by Great Britain as an independent state. This was done at a convention held on Sand River. On the 12th of April, 1877, the Transvaal Republic was declared to be "annexed" to Cape Colony.

In 1883 Paul Kruger, already approaching his sixtieth year, was elected President of the South African Republic. His first term extended from 1883 to 1888. His abilities were great and his courage unquestionable. As a boy of ten, he had accompanied his parents on the Great Trek into the Kaffir wilderness. In his youth he was a lion-killer. In 1837, he stood in the line and looked into the muzzles of the Zulu guns as they blazed into the faces of his countrymen on Battle Hill. After the victory, he sang Dutch psalms with the rest. At the age of twenty, he went on the expedition against Durban, at which time the Boers sought to regain their old seaport. He first met the British at the Sand River Convention in 1852. His accession to the Presidency came two years after the disagreeable agreement of 1881, in which the suzerainty of Great Britain over the foreign affairs of the republic was recognized *quo ad hoc*. Then came his visitations at the capitals of Europe, and the revised compact of 1884.

The inrush to the Transvaal gold fields began *after* the Convention of 1884. The authorities of the Republic therefore claimed exclusive prerogatives in determining the rights and relations of the incoming populations. The Volksraad proceeded to establish harsh conditions of citizenship and regulations for the control of the mining districts. But at this juncture, British authority raised its hand. British authority set up the claim that the suzerainty of the Empire extended over the Transvaal, and that, therefore, such questions as citizenship and mining rights were determinable only by the consent and under the influence of the Imperial government.

The parties to the contention were, on the one side, the authorities of the Boer Republic and all the Boers supporting their President and the Raad. The other party was composed of the British,

French and other foreigners. The latter were designated by the Dutch as *Uitlanders*; that is, *Outlanders* or foreigners.

The antagonism of Boer and foreigner, however, was by no means limited to the South African Republic. The two classes extended into the Orange Free State, and Natal, and Cape Colony itself. It was this fact that, in the speech of the day, gave rise to the term *Afrikander*, by which the Dutch proudly designated every white man who was born on African soil. The name was applied particularly to all white men of Dutch descent. These were of course distributed throughout all Africa south of the Limpopo and the lower Orange. In Cape Colony, the Afrikanders were in a majority at the date of the conventions of 1881 and 1884. They have continued in the majority to the present day.\* They were in a great majority in the Orange Free State, and, before the gold-rush, in a majority in the Transvaal; but they are now decidedly in the minority.

Throughout South Africa, wherever an Afrikander was found, a man was found who was in an antagonistic attitude to the Outlander. The Afrikander belonged to one party, and the Outlander to another party. Out of this situation sprang the Reform Party in the South African Republic. Out of the same conditions also sprang, in the year 1879, the Afrikander Bund, or, as we should say, the African Bond. This organization was composed exclusively of Afrikanders. It had in it something of the strict construction and intense purpose which characterized the "American Party" which flourished somewhat in the United States from 1852 to 1856.

The Afrikander Bund not only set itself in opposition to the aggressions of the Outlander Party, but it went beyond the phase of opposition and adopted the positive and active policy of independence.

\*The year 1889.

The independence sought for was nothing less than the emancipation of all South Africa from foreign domination, and the establishment of an African United States. Nor may we pass from the subject without noting, by anticipation, the great strength and support which the Boers of the Transvaal suddenly discovered in the Afrikander Bund at the outbreak of the war in 1899. The Bund was behind the Boer.

The Outlander class in the Orange River countries, constantly augmented in numbers and vehemence. The elements composing it were energetic and sometimes enterprising. They were the Transvaal miners par excellence. Many became traders; for the trade quickly follows the mine. Many new industries came on in the wave of out-landism.

Meanwhile the Boer administration and the Boers themselves sought to keep their seats. They sought to hold and to exercise their authority. Their paucity of numbers might be contrasted with the tremendous mass of humanity which heaped itself up at Johannesburg and other gold-producing centers. Then the mass assumed a threatening attitude. In the mass there was much discontent, disaffection, opposition to Boer authority, and complaints at British indifference. Henry M. Stanley, describing the condition as he saw it and heard it at Johannesburg on the occasion of his visit to that place in 1897, two years after the Jameson raid, says:

"At Johannesburg, however, different feelings possessed us. Without knowing exactly why, we felt that this population, once so favored by fortune, so exultant and energetic, was in a subdued and despondent mood, and wore a defeated and cowed air. When we timidly inquired as to the cause, we found them laboring under a sense of wrong, and disposed to be querulous and recriminatory. They blamed both Boers and British: the whole civilized world and all but

themselves seemed to have been unwise and unjust. They recapitulated without an error of fact the many failures and shames of British colonial policy in the past; gave valid instances of their distrust of the present policy; pointed to the breaches of the Convention of 1884, and the manifest disregard of them by the Colonial Secretary; described at large the conditions under which they lived, and demanded to know if the manner in which the charter of their liberties was treated was at all compatible with what they had a right to expect under the express stipulations of the Convention. 'Why,' said they, 'between Boer arrogance and British indifference, every condition of that Power of Attorney granted to Paul Kruger has been disregarded by the Boer, and neglected by the British.'"

Such was the condition of the social, industrial and political elements in the gold-bearing districts of the Transvaal during the first half of the tenth decennium. The Boer Burghers held their own, but the South African Adullamites wanted representation in the government. This the Republican constitution forbade, or permitted only after a tedious and rigid method of naturalization.

Members of the Volksraad were divided into two classes. There were two Volksraaden, each body being composed of twenty-four members. We should call the Upper Raad a Senate, and the Lower Raad an Assembly, or House of Representatives. Qualifications for membership in these bodies were strict and rigorous. No one might enter either Volksraad until he should be thirty years of age. He must possess fixed property and be a Protestant. He must never have committed a criminal offense. The Burghers who might vote were also divided into two classes. The first class included all male white residents of the Republic, who had been such since the 29th of May, 1876, and who had taken part in the wars of 1881 and

1894. It also included such Burghers' sons as had reached the age of sixteen years or over.

In the second class was included the naturalized male population of the Republic and the sons of such who had passed the age of sixteen. Naturalization might be gained after a residence of two years, by such persons as would take the oath of allegiance and pay the fee of two pounds sterling. Burghers of the second class might be promoted to membership in the first class by a special vote of the Volksraad, after the candidates had been naturalized citizens for a period of twelve years. These provisions made the way to the right of first-class Burgher suffrage, a steep and difficult cliff to climb. A foreigner could reach such right only after a citizen residence of fourteen years.

In the exercise of the suffrage there were also great care and strict construction; burghers of the first-class had a right to vote for members of both Volksraaden; that is, in effect, the Upper Volksraad was elected by first-class burghers only. The second-class burghers were entitled to vote for members of the Lower Volksraad only; with that the political power of such burghers ceased.

Out of this condition came a breach between the Outlanders and the administration of the Republic. The Outlanders complained that they were taxed without representation. They said that they were entitled to vote. They said that the Boer constitution was oppressive, absurd, mediæval. They said that their rights were disregarded, their citizenship denied, their character depreciated and derided. They said that they had made the Transvaal; that is, they had made it worth something; that they had developed the mines; that they had built the railways; that they had organized stock companies and made business; that they outnumbered the Boers two

IN AN INCLINE SHAFT EIGHT HUNDRED FEET BELOW THE SURFACE.

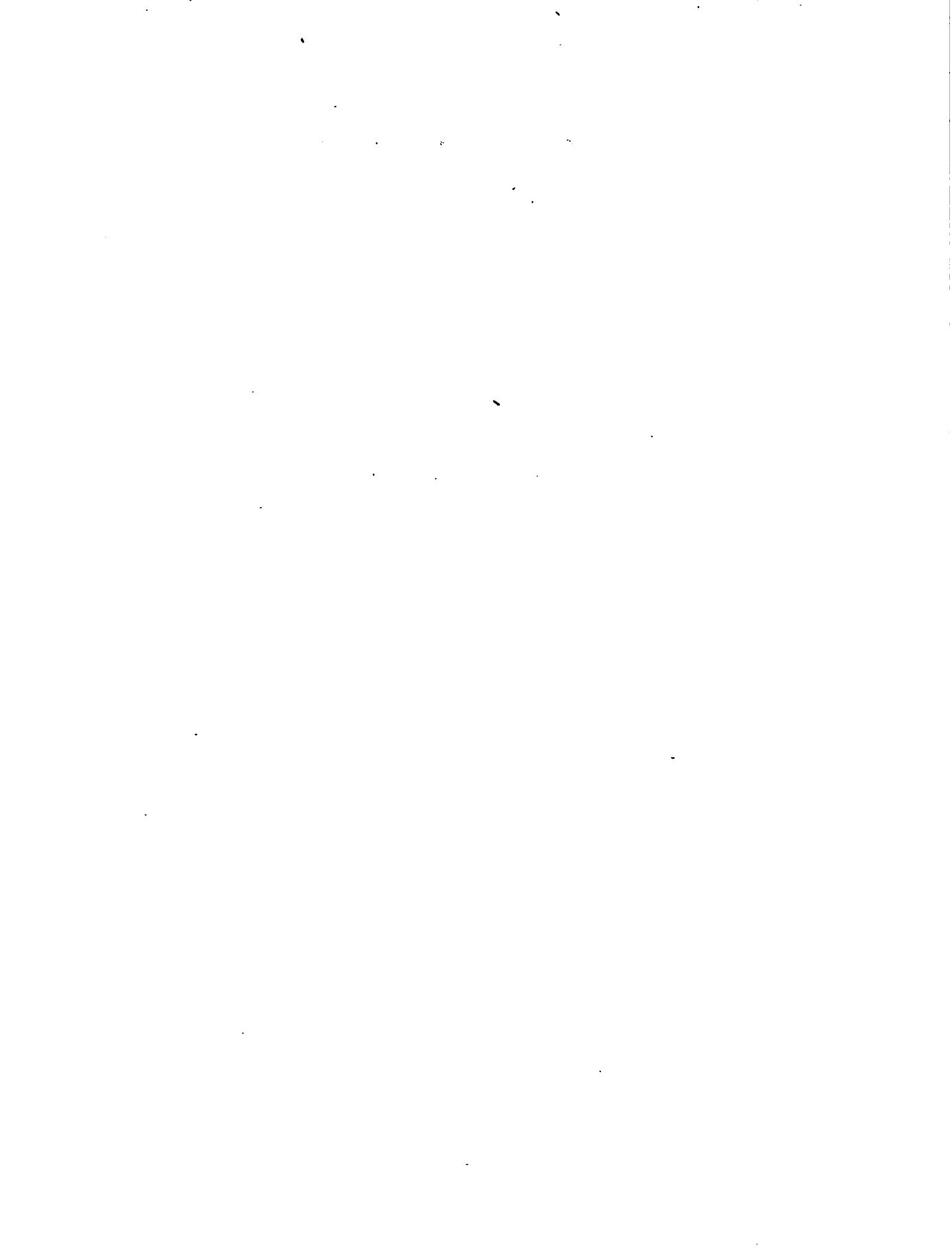
VIEW ON THE MAIN RIVER AT SIMMONS & JACK MINE.

to one in many places, and that the government of the majority by the minority was monstrous; that even if they succeeded under the hard conditions in electing one of their own number to a seat in the Lower Raad, he, their representative, could not speak Dutch, while English, the language of civilization and progress, was not permitted.

In the present case, the leading Outlanders, having their center at Johannesburg, got together and organized the *Reform Party!* It was the object of this party to get themselves emancipated from the control of the Transvaal Republic. They would not pay taxes unless they could vote. They would not build railways for other people.

In the city of Johannesburg, such was the situation in 1893-94. And the other mining cities were even as Johannesburg, but not so great. The Reform Party made itself known on the streets. The Reform Party proclaimed insurrection against the existing order.

A large, flowing cursive signature in black ink. The signature reads "John Clark Ridpath." The "J" and "C" are particularly large and ornate, with long, sweeping loops. The "R" and "D" are also prominent, with the "D" having a long, curved tail.



## CHAPTER XI

### THE JAMESON RAID

On the 26th of December, 1895, an important manifesto was issued by the National Reform Union at Johannesburg, addressed to the people of the Transvaal, setting forth the reforms demanded by the Uitlanders. These may be summarized as follows:

1. The establishment of the republic as a true republic under a constitution approved by the whole nation.
2. An amicable franchise and fair representation.
3. The equality of the Dutch and English languages.
4. The responsibility to the legislature of the heads of the chief departments.
5. The removal of all religious disabilities.
6. The establishment of independent courts of justice, with the security of adequate pay for the judges thereof.
7. Liberal education.
8. An efficient civil service with adequate pay and the pension system.
9. Free trade in African products.

This manifesto closed with the following significant words: "We shall expect an answer in plain terms, according to your deliberate judgment, at the meeting to be held on January 6."

The manifesto was followed three days after its date by this telegram from Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, addressed to Sir Hercules Robinson, Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa:

to Mr. Robinson: "In reply to your telegrams relative to the situation in South African Republic, your action is cordially approved. I presume that Mr. C. J. Rhodes will coöperate with you in recalling Administrator of Matabeleland. Keep me informed fully of political situation in all its respects. It is not clearly understood here. Leave no stone unturned to prevent mischief."

On the last day of the year, Sir Hercules Robinson cabled that in consequence of a telegram from the British Agent in the Transvaal, he had ordered the Agent to send without delay a thoroughly competent mounted express with this message to Dr. Jameson: "Her Majesty's Government entirely disapprove your conduct in invading the Transvaal with armed force. Your action has been repudiated. You are ordered to return at once from the country, and will be held personally responsible for the consequences of your unauthorized and most improper proceeding."

On December 29, which was Sunday, Dr. Jameson, accompanied by Sir John Willoughby, the Commandant of the Chartered Company's forces, rode out from Mafeking with a force whose numbers have been given at from 400 to 600 men. They took with them three Witworth and eight Maxim guns. Their first act was to cut the telegraph wires and they had hardly crossed the border into the Transvaal, when they were met by an official of the Republic, who warned them to withdraw at once. Dr. Jameson's written reply was: "Sir: I am in receipt of your protest of above date, and have to inform you that I intend proceeding with my original plan, which had no hostile intentions against the people of the Transvaal, but we are here in reply to an invitation from the principal residents of the Rand to assist them in their demand for justice and the ordinary rights of every citizen of a civilized state."

It will be remembered that a messenger mounted on a fleet horse was sent with an order of recall to Jameson, who was overtaken near the Elan River. After reading the order, Jameson coolly replied to the messenger that he might report that the order had been received and would be attended to, and then the raiders rode on.

No sooner was news received of the crossing of the frontier by the raiders than the burghers, who had been commandeered, made haste to intercept the party, which was encountered about fifteen miles out of Johannesburg, where the fighting opened a little past midnight on the first day of the new year.

Jameson and his men were daring, but no more so than the Boers, among whom were some of the best rifle shots found anywhere. They are cool, brave and almost fanatical in their devotion to their country, and whatever policy is fixed upon by the President and his associates.

Full of self-confidence, the raiders rode onward until they came in sight of Krugersdorp, where a halt was made and notice given that the women and children must leave the place at once, as Jameson intended to take possession of it. In giving this notification, however, the leader of the invaders, to use a homely expression, counted his chickens before they were hatched. In order to enter the town, the horsemen had to ride directly between two kopjes, as they are termed, affording a powerful position to the Boers, who had taken possession of them.

When the raiders came in sight, the defenders adopted the tactics often used by the Kaffirs, and which is a favorite one among American Indians. Small bodies presented themselves as disputants of the advance, and after a feeble resistance, began

falling back. Their object was to lure Jameson and his men in front of the strong position where a numerous force of riflemen were eagerly waiting for them to come within range. In other words, the Boers set a trap for the invaders into which they rode.

Before he suspected anything of that nature, Jameson found the fire too hot to be borne, and he contented himself with throwing a few shells into the town, when he fell back and took the road leading through Randfontein, past Brink's farmhouse at Dornkop. Two troopers were killed there, but the Boers adopted the same tactics as before, reserving their real attack until the invaders came within reach of their full force. On the other side of Dornkop, the defenders held both sides of the road, and when darkness descended, Jameson found himself in a most critical position, for, although he was on a small kopje, the Boers commanded the point from every side.

At the time Jameson first appeared, the number of Boers confronting him was about 1,200 or 1,500, but all through the night others continued to join them until their force was tripled. All of these splendid marksmen were mounted and armed with Martini-Henry rifles, which they knew how to use with wonderful effectiveness. They were threatened by a grave danger for a time, owing to the fact that they had expended so much ammunition in resisting the attack on Krugersdorp, that little remained, but special trains were run out from Johannesburg which fully made up the lack.

The Uitlanders blew up the line between Langlaate and Krugersdorp, but foolishly waited until after the supplies had gone past, so that not the slightest help was given to Jameson. Fully comprehending the danger of his position, Jameson continued shelling

THE DOCKS—CAPE TOWN.

ENGLISH BARRACKS AT LADYSMITH.

that of the Boers. He used electric lights to locate the enemy, but they were effectually hidden by the boulders and rising ground, and received scarcely an injury.

Thus it came about that, when morning dawned, the raiders found they were caught in a trap, from which their only escape was by breaking through the lines of the Boer riflemen. With great gallantry Major Coventry led a charge against the kopjes, but he was defeated by the peculiar action of the Boers, who made no attempt to shoot the riders, but killed their horses. What they wished was to make the men prisoners and they took this means of doing so. The unharmed riders, being suddenly dismounted, had no other recourse than to scramble among the reeds and behind anything that offered a screen, for in no other way could they escape, even for a short time. Thus the fighting went on for four hours or more.

The time came when the leader saw that it was all up with him, and early in the forenoon he hoisted the white flag. The Boers seemed to distrust the flag of truce, but when the raiders piled their arms in the middle of a square and lined up, they rushed forward and took the whole force prisoners, including, of course, their arms and ammunition. A good many men had been wounded, but, as has been shown repeatedly in the last war, the Boers treated the unfortunate ones humanely. Brink's farm house, as it was known, was turned into a hospital to which the injured of both sides were carried, where immediate attention was given them, while the prisoners were escorted to Krugersdorp. It is said most of them were utterly exhausted, and so famishing that they were on the point of fainting, which they would have done but for the prompt relief given by their captors.

When the scene of the battle was inspected and the dead of both sides buried, it was observed that the destruction of the horses of the raiders had been particularly severe. The assertion was often made that the Boers had lost a good deal of their skill in marksmanship, owing to the killing off of the big game in their country; but, though they may have lacked the astonishing expertness of their fathers, it was indisputable that they were still splendid shots.

There will never be any question as to the great bravery shown by Dr. Jameson and his followers in attempting to make this raid into the Transvaal. Dr. Jameson well knew the character of the enemy to which he would be opposed, but the profound belief in his own powers, which feeling animates almost every Englishman, caused him to scorn the difficulties of the situation and to move forward in an almost hopeless enterprise. Perhaps there was a deeper design in the raid than history will ever be able to show conclusively, but, as that may be, it required a bold spirit to carry out this design, and no better selection could have been made than that of Dr. Jameson.

It is quite evident that the plans of Jameson were entirely disarranged when the reinforcements of Uitlanders in Johannesburg failed to come to his assistance. Jameson had been promised 2,000 men from Johannesburg, but, owing to the activity of President Kruger, the Uitlanders were unable to carry out their part in the program. Hundreds of armed burghers poured into Johannesburg, and an outbreak on the part of the Uitlanders would have been the signal for a general slaughter. Kruger quickly served warning on the "Defense Committee" in Johannesburg, and this notice was emphasized by a display of force which demonstrated the hopelessness

of any attempt to go to the aid of Jameson. As a result Jameson was informed by the Defense Committee that an armistice had been concluded with President Kruger until the high commissioner visited Pretoria, and, consequently, no help could be given to him.

Dr. Jameson's men were brought to Pretoria. The burghers were greatly excited over the affair, and, had not judicious counsels prevailed, the prisoners might have been harshly treated by the enraged farmers.

As soon as the news reached England Mr. Chamberlain cabled to President Kruger asking him to show magnanimity in the hour of victory. Oom Paul replied that the case of the prisoners would be decided strictly according to the traditions of the Republic, and that there would be no punishment which was not in accordance with the law. The case, therefore, was referred to the judges of the High Court of the South African Republic and they sentenced Dr. Jameson and his associates to be shot. President Kruger decided, however, that in presenting the Transvaal side of the case to the world, that magnanimity would count for much in gaining the sympathy of other nations, and he declined to allow the sentence to be carried out. He refused to sign the death warrant and ordered the prisoners turned over to Her Majesty's Government on the Natal frontier, as soon as Johannesburg was disarmed.

It has been stated that one of the conditions insisted upon by President Kruger for the release of the raiders was that Johannesburg should be disarmed. The city was notified on the 6th of January, 1896, that no discussion of grievances would be permitted until such disarmament was made. This was the ultimatum, and, to render it effective, the English agent, Sir Jacobus De Wet, was

sent with a message by the High Commissioner from Pretoria, which was thus delivered:

"Men of Johannesburg, friends, and fellow subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, I regret I am before you under such painful circumstances. I deeply sympathize with your grievances, but circumstances have so changed that I have to ask you to do a thing which would, perhaps, pain many a heart."

He begged them as men to use their judgment, and not to allow their English blood, English courage and English valor to override their judgment. Every human being, unbiased in mind, believed in pluck, perseverance and determination in Englishmen. (Loud cheers.) He had to announce that Jameson and his brave fellows—misguided, but brave—(tremendous cheering)—were prisoners. A terrible mistake was undoubtedly made by some one, which had placed them in a most awkward and painful position, and he rejoiced to announce that Jameson and his men were to be honorably handed over to Her Majesty's Government—(loud cheers)—and to be dealt with according to the laws of Great Britain, but one condition was that the men of Johannesburg should lay down their arms. ("We will not," and prolonged groans.) As their friend and loyal subject and servant of the Queen, from the time of his manhood to the present moment, he appealed to them as Britons not to act idiotically, not to refuse to give up their arms. (Cries of "Who to ?") To-day was not the time to let feelings of enthusiasm carry them away. It was the time to be guided by judgment and counsel, and to let these prevail over national sentiment. He was expressing the wishes of the High Commissioner, who, at his request, allowed him to come, and, if possible, avert bloodshed. He appealed to the men of Johannesburg to set aside

the national feelings by which they were fired. They might fight bravely like lions, but he would tell them it was utterly impossible for the men in Johannesburg to hold their position. (Dissent.) If they fought, with all their pluck and determination, they would have to die. (Cries of "Never.") If they did not care for their own lives, as men with brave hearts did not, let them consider women and children—(cheers)—and many other innocent people who had nothing to do with the movement. Let them consider the position of this town, which might be in ashes if Johannesburg persevered in the present course. He put it, could they by all their pluck and bravery hold this place? They would be starved out; they would perish from famine and thirst. He was in sympathy with the men of Johannesburg, but begged and besought them as a fellow-subject, and as representative of the Queen on behalf of the High Commissioner, to consider their position. They were not surrendering through cowardice. There was no disgrace in that. (Cries of "What are the conditions?") Well the Government of the Transvaal was disposed to be lenient.

It is worth bearing in mind that the President of the Transvaal Republic voluntarily surrendered to a representative of the Queen, every man who had taken part in the invasion of his country. Before this release took place, the prisoners drew up a memorial to President Kruger, thanking the government and officials with whom they had been brought in contact during their imprisonment, for the great kindness shown them throughout their incarceration.

And as to how England punished these breakers of her laws, that is another story. On June 11th, Jameson and his leading associates were brought before an adjourned session of the Bow

Street Police Court, London, charged with a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act by making a raid into a friendly state.

The prisoners were fifteen in number, and, as they entered the court room, with Jameson at the head, he was the only one who showed an appreciation of the gravity of the situation in which they were placed. He was grave and thoughtful all through the hearing, while the others smiled, nodded to acquaintances in the court room, and seemed to look upon the occasion as a fine opportunity to place themselves on exhibition before their admiring countrymen. A correspondent thus sketches the appearance of the prisoners:

"Jameson has an interesting, and, by no means, a bad face, though not as strong as one would expect. His eyes are fine—wide apart and rather pathetic—and he has a good big forehead, perhaps a little exaggerated by baldness, but his mouth and chin do not look unusually positive. He wears a brown mustache, trimmed close, and in age appears to be about forty. His eye is clear and his color good, but fatigue and care were evident from his whole appearance and demeanor. In physique he is thick set and short—quite the least imposing by far of the party; but he has the only intellectual face among them. Henry Frederick White, one of the leaders, is the handsomest of them, a tall, military man, with an air of good breeding and distinction. The Hon. Robert White, is quite vacant looking, as is also Captain Coventry. Colonel Grey is also handsome, in a way, but heavy; Sir John Willoughby looks intelligent enough, in all conscience, but his face is cynical and repellent."

Sir Richard Webster represented the Crown, and some of the most distinguished barristers in England were arrayed on the side

of the defense. The depositions of the witnesses were taken down in long-hand to be sworn to and signed then and there. This made the proceedings tedious, but many stirring episodes of the raid were brought out, and one especially was listened to with keen interest. That was the testimony of a Dutch lieutenant, told simply and modestly. He had been under arrest by the Jameson column, but afterward took part in the first skirmish near Krugersdorp. He was met on patrol duty, his horse taken away and he was disarmed, whereupon he asked his captor why they did that, "when no war had been declared or anything." When he was asked how many men he had he expressed surprise that they should expect him to answer such a question. His horse was finally restored to him and he was left behind on a two hours' parole to stay where he was. He kept his parole and at its termination galloped off with such speed that he rejoined the Boers and took charge of his battery before the raiders arrived.

The magistrate discharged nine of the accused, but held Jameson, the two Whites, Coventry, Willoughby and Grey under £2,000 bail each.

The grand jury found bills of indictment against the prisoners, whose trial took place in the latter part of the following month. There could not have been a more inopportune date for them, for on the same day, the report of the investigating committee of the House of Assembly of Cape Colony was given out. It was an act of high moral courage on the part of the Cape Parliament to censure Rhodes, but the great British leader was reproved for his part in the affair.

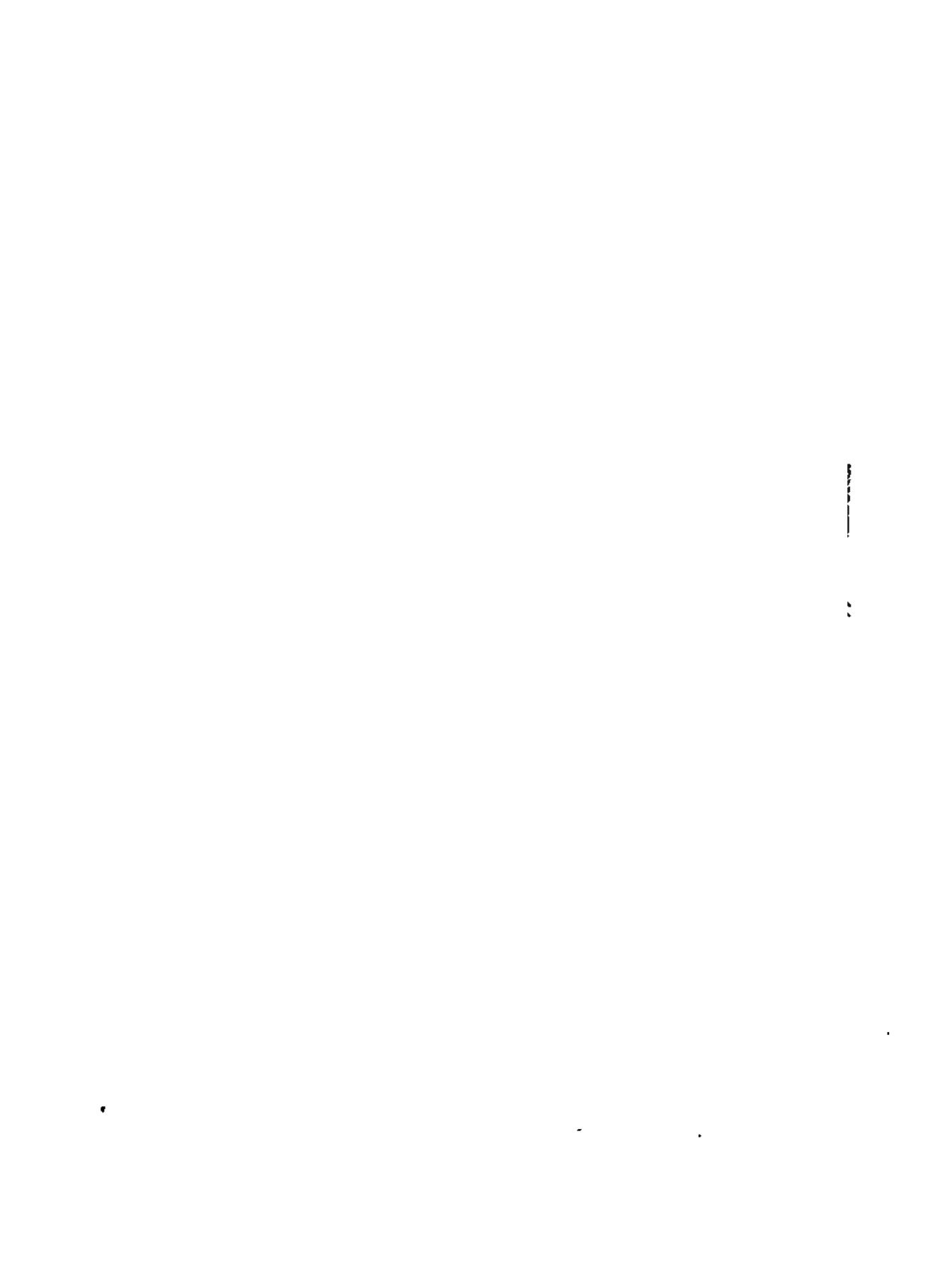
In view of the remarkable character of the case, the attorney general demanded a trial at bar before the Queen's Bench Division

of the High Court of Justice, which is the most august tribunal in England. This demand was granted and the Lord Chief Justice and the two senior puisne judges of the Queen's Bench Division were assigned to the trial. By taking this course, an authoritative decision would be obtained on the difficult law points that were certain to arise.

The Lord Chief Justice is well known and much liked in this country. Lord Russell, of Killowen, as he was styled, was, until his promotion, the leading English advocate, a Catholic Irishman; the champion of Parnell; the English counsel before the Behring Sea Tribunal, and one of the greatest legal minds of the century. Associated with him were the hardly less distinguished Baron Pollock, the foremost living writer upon English law, and Mr. Justice Hawkins, the eminent jurist. The prosecution and defense were represented by some of the most profound legal talent of the kingdom.

The trial opened July 20th, when Sir Edward Clark consumed the day in support of a motion to quash the indictments. It would be uninteresting to give the technical points of his argument, but he maintained that the indictments did not allege those acts relating to the Enlistment Act with sufficient particularity. The motion was denied, and on the second day of the trial the jury was impaneled and sworn.

The attorney's opening was masterful. He recited the various acts in the order of their proposed proof, adding that they were practically admitted by the defense, except as to the construction that was to be put upon them. He made clear the necessity for a statute forbidding expeditions against a friendly state, and, in conclusion, urged that it "was all the more incumbent upon persons



PIETERMARITZBURG, FROM TOWN HALL TOWER.

who, like the defendants, were in the responsible position of *de facto* governors of the country—magistrates and administrators as some of them were—that they should obey and enforce the provisions of this statute," instead of combining to violate it.

The attorney general next brought forward his proofs, which occupied three days, there being no obstructive interruptions and little cross-examination. This was the most tedious part of the trial, for the proofs were largely documentary, and were devoted mainly to establishing the fact that in 1895 the South African Republic was a friendly state, and that Mafeking and Pitsani were places within the scope of the Foreign Enlistment Act.

It is always interesting to observe the attempts of skillful counsel to make out a good case for their clients when it is an exceedingly bad one. The first motion of the defense was to dismiss, on the ground that the prosecution had failed to prove that the Foreign Enlistment Act was in force either at Mafeking or Pitsani, the two places from which the expedition started. This motion was promptly denied, on the ground that the Act had been in force at Mafeking, and that, as all the defendants had been concerned in the fitting out of the expedition, it was immaterial whether the Act had been in force in Pitsani or not. By way of precaution the latter question was afterward put to the jury and answered affirmatively.

The English law did not permit the defendants to testify in their behalf, but no hardship was thereby wrought, since the facts put in evidence by the Crown were incapable of rebuttal. Consequently, the defense made no attempt to form a case, but sought to modify the harshness of the established facts, and their method was an ingenious one.

The charge of the Lord Chief Justice to the jury was a crushing one and left them no loophole of escape from their duty, no matter how distasteful it was to them. He opened with the declaration that "in most criminal charges the consequences of the offense usually end with \* \* \* \* \* the acts that constitute the crime, but the consequences of the offense brought before them no one could foresee." The charges were uncontroverted and notorious. He scathingly denounced the argument of the defense that the mission of the raiders was that of rescuers or that they were evangelists of reform. "The expedition was a filibustering raid, even if it was not aimed at overthrowing the republic, or was prompted by philanthropic and humane motives, or aimed at securing some reform of the law, and whether it proceeded by a show of force or actual force. If these things were done by authority of the Queen, it would be an act of war."

The learned judge then showed that the Act was effective to enforce a neutrality not secured by the law of any other country. Henceforth, it was a violation of the Act to fit out on British soil any expedition against any state, no matter whether it started or not; nor whether its promoters were on British soil while organizing it; nor whether its members took employment in it without responsibility for its organization.

It was impossible for the jury to do otherwise than pronounce the prisoners guilty, and their sentences were as follows: Dr. Jameson, fifteen months' imprisonment; Sir John Willoughby, ten months; Hon. Robert White, seven; Col. Grey, Col. Henry White and Major Coventry, five each, the imprisonment to be without hard labor; but the sentence forfeited all the prisoners' royal commissions.

## CHAPTER XII

### LEADERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The development of new countries always brings to the front men naturally fitted to take a place above their fellowmen. South Africa is no exception. Times of crises only accentuate the ability and genius of these leaders who have seized conditions to make themselves forces of power and influence in the world. The British and the Boers both have produced men in South Africa who must be recognized in history as potent instruments in the restoration of the Dark Continent to the light of civilization. Men, as nations, may clash, and yet both be right from their own point of view. The English have maintained that their sovereignty in South Africa would give the Republics a progress and advancement which would forward them one hundred years. The Boers stolidly maintain that progress shall be as it moves with the Republics, and not by the forced draught of English enterprise and domination. Both Dutch and English, whatever may be their motives, have made history in South Africa, and time will probably indorse the work of both as good and of benefit to mankind.

The Dutch have produced no greater leader than "Oom" Paul Kruger, President of the South African Republic. Whatever may be the justice of the contentions between the British and the Dutch, all are interested in this grim, placid old man, who, fighting for what he believes to be right, has impressed the world by the simplicity of his character, and yet the intellectual ability, with

which he is guiding his beloved Republic through the storms and stress of a bitter war.

Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger is one of the most remarkable men of the times. Of him Prince Bismarck said: "He is the greatest natural diplomat living."

The first look at President Kruger causes a smile on the part of a stranger, for a homelier man in dress and appearance, it is hard to conceive. He wears a billycock hat perched on his head, has long dangling gray hair, a heavy face, flabby cheeks, broad flat nose, small eyes, hidden by the pulpy rings beneath when he laughs, and shaded by brows whose coarse hair is half an inch long. His mouth is misshapen, one side being drawn down from the continual use of a pipe, for he is an inveterate smoker, and his unprepossessing countenance is surrounded by a fringe of scraggly white whiskers. His long, heavy body is perched upon a pair of thin, weak limbs, his baggy coat is too small to be comfortably buttoned in front, and there is always a yawning chasm between the bottom of his trousers and the tops of his shoes.

Oom Paul is a devout Christian and loves everybody excepting the English, whom he hates with an intensity comparable only with that which is said to stir the devil at the sight of holy water, and all the abominable qualities of the Englishman, are typified to him in Cecil J. Rhodes.

President Kruger was born in Cape Colony in October, 1825. While a small boy, the troubles between the Colonial Government and the Boers began, and he joined his people in journeying to the interior. He was a remarkable athlete, endowed with prodigious strength and activity, and possessing a personal courage that absolutely knew no fear. In those days the lion rendered some parts

of South Africa almost uninhabitable for white men or negroes. No life was safe until the country was cleared of the fearful pests. It is stated on good authority, that before the final settlement was made in the Transvaal, fully six thousand lions were killed, of which more than two hundred fell by the hand of Paul Kruger. He was still in his teens, when he took part in the wars with the natives, who were nearly as troublesome as the lions. When seventeen years old, he professed religion and there is no stronger characteristic of his nature than his deep devotion and obedience to the will of his Master. He believes himself an instrument in the hands of the Almighty for the carrying out of His purposes among His beloved Boers, and no disaster, however crushing, or victory, however great, can shake his trust in God.

It is suspected that President Kruger is able to speak the English language fluently. Several persons narrate that in holding a conversation with him, through an interpreter, the shrewd old fellow often showed that he understood the English expressions before they were translated. Be this as it may, he will not admit such knowledge, and in every interview which he holds with a visitor using the hated tongue, he insists upon having it filtered into that of his own country.

Never was there a greater democrat than President Kruger. A person unacquainted with his identity, seeing him among his townsmen, would never suspect that he was a jot socially higher than the lowest of them. He spends an hour every morning in his family devotions and the reading of the Bible, and nothing delights him more than, after the adjournment of the Volksraad, to sit on the piazza of his modest, white-washed cottage and smoke and chat with the burghers, who enjoy the occasion no less

than he. Coffee and tobacco are furnished freely to all visitors. None can laugh more heartily than he, or enjoy more keenly the pleasant gossip with his neighbors. He is said to be immensely wealthy, and there is little doubt that he is a millionaire, while his son-in-law is still richer and occupies a residence that cost a quarter of a million dollars. The president's salary is thirty-five thousand dollars, but he lives as plainly as if it were less than a tenth of that sum. He has been married twice, and has had seventeen children born to him, of whom only seven are living. That meteoric character, Barney Barnato, whose brief career in South Africa dazzled the world, presented President Kruger with two fine marble statues of lions, which have been placed on the lawn in front of his house. Some of our readers may have seen a photograph of the President standing with a hand resting on the head of one of the recumbent animals. It tickles the fancy of the Boers to see a significance in this pose, which possibly was not intended by the president himself when he stood for the photograph.

The following interesting reference to President Kruger is from *The Boston Pilot*, by a gentleman who has been intimately acquainted with the great Boer leader for the past twenty years:

"This remarkable man was born on October 10, 1825. His parents were Boer farmers, residing in Cape Colony, too poor to provide Paul with shoes. The future ruler of the South African Republic had to trudge over the African 'veldt' in his bare feet. He was christened S. J. Paul Kruger, but the two initials were soon disused, though President Kruger uses them in signing state papers. Fear was unknown to Kruger from boyhood. When he was in his seventeenth year his father asked him to take home his

span of oxen and an empty wagon. He was accompanied by his little sister.

"'Paul,' said his father, 'take care of your sister.'

"'I will,' he said simply.

"In those days traveling in Cape Colony was anything but a picnic. Wild animals were plentiful, and many a traveler became a prey to these beasts. Everything went well until Paul was within about five miles from home. Here a large panther made his appearance. The oxen took fright and bolted. The jostling of the wagon threw the little girl to the ground, where she was at the mercy of the ferocious animal. Without a moment's hesitation young Kruger jumped from the wagon and ran to his sister's assistance. The panther stood with gleaming eyes over the prostrate child. Kruger was unarmed, but without a moment's hesitation he engaged the panther in a hand-to-hand battle. It was a fierce battle. Time and again the angry beast clawed Kruger cruelly, but his courage and strength never failed him. Like a bulldog he held his grip upon the panther's throat until he strangled the beast to death. Kruger was badly lacerated. Blood flowed from many wounds, but notwithstanding his injuries he carried his fainting sister home. This exploit made him the hero of the sturdy Boers in that section. It was the first indication of the latent powers that dwelt in the coming ruler of the Transvaal.

"From boyhood Kruger hated the English with a hatred which has only increased with years. His boast was that some day he would raise an army to fight the English. When Kruger was young his people moved to the Orange Free State, and later to the Transvaal. The first time I met Paul Kruger was in Pretoria in 1879. Though past fifty years of age, he was a Hercules in

physique, standing over six feet in his stockings, and strongly built, without an ounce of superfluous flesh on his body. He and Joubert were then arraying the Boers for the great struggle with England, which came in 1881, securing for the Boers the right of self-government. In those days Kruger was poor compared with his wealth of to-day, He had a large family, to which he was devotedly attached.

"When I met him over fifteen years later, although the President of the Republic, he was as unassuming as in earlier days. He asked me to be his guest, and in his parlor in Pretoria we talked of old days. Kruger had aged considerably in the fifteen years. He stooped somewhat, but the fire of youth gleamed in his eyes, and age seemed unable to dim his ardor. My conversation with him was carried on through his secretary. 'Oom' Paul can speak English fluently, but under no circumstances will he carry on a conversation in that language. This procedure when in conference with British officials gives him an opportunity to collect his thoughts before replying. He is an inveterate smoker and coffee drinker, and is hardly ever seen at home without a long pipe in his mouth. At his side is a large cuspidor, which he uses freely.

"The motto of President Kruger for years has been Patrick Henry's memorable utterance, 'Give me liberty or give me death.' This sentence translated into the Boer language, hangs handsomely framed in his parlor. This heroic Boer ruler is almost devoid of learning. What education he has was hard to secure. Yet he has baffled men of learning by his sagacity. His knowledge of human nature is wonderful. Once in Johannesburg there was an elected board of health which was becoming daily

THE SUMMIT OF MAFRA—LOOKING NORTH.

**VIEW ON BONTIBOK FLATS, CATHCART DISTRICT, WITH  
GIAKA'S KOP IN THE DISTANCE.**

more powerful. The members were mostly English, among them being a Mr. Holt, who was ultra English in his views. This board was the only hope of the British element for securing control of Johannesburg. In November, 1894, President Kruger issued an edict that only the Boer language could be used at the meetings of the health board, and only those who could speak the language were qualified to be its members. The English fumed, but there was nothing to do but resign. The Boer language is as hard to learn as the Chinese.

"In November, 1894, I was President Kruger's guest when he drove home the last spike in the Delagoa Bay Railway, which connects Pretoria with Delagoa Bay. It was an inspiring scene when the presidential train arrived at Bronkhorst Spruit. As the old president stepped from his special car he was greeted by hundreds of Boer farmers. In the distance could be seen the three grouped graves of the rearguard of the British Ninety-second Regiment. In a few words Kruger exhorted the Boers to stand by their country; never to give it up to a foreign foe. As he made this appeal he turned his eyes toward the last resting place of the British soldiers.

"He is decidedly partial to Americans, and has not forgotten the time when a handful of Americans saved him from a British mob. This took place in 1893 when Sir Henry Loch, then Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner of Africa, went to Pretoria to confer with Kruger concerning the command to British subjects to carry arms in the Boer army. The Englishmen in Johannesburg, excited over Loch's visit, went to Pretoria in special trains. When Loch arrived they took the horses out of his carriage and drew him in triumph to the Capitol. Some over-excited ones took the horses out

of President Kruger's carriage and started to mob him. In an instant the old president was surrounded by twenty Americans with drawn revolvers. They threatened to shoot the first man that attempted to lay hands on Kruger. He has never forgotten that kindness.

"Before I left Pretoria, President Kruger said to me through his Secretary:

"'When you go home to the United States tell the people there for me that there is a small nation here, loving their country and their liberty, that idolizes the American flag and the free institutions of the country. May the United States ever prosper and remain true to the principles of her forefathers, is my earnest wish. It would please me very much if a treaty could be made between the United States and the Transvaal. Could I favor American commerce I would do so, and I shall try all in my power to grant some concessions.'

"The voice of the aged president quivered as he spoke, and his eyes were moist. He was certainly deeply moved.

"It is no wonder that the old Boers love their President. His character is pure; he is gentle as a babe, but firm as a rock, and a very lion when his country is in danger."

It will be remembered that the president badly injured one of his thumbs, when hunting in his early days, and rather than bother with it he cut it off. When the tension between his country and Great Britain was near the snapping point, he was discussing the matter one day with his friends, and to illustrate how he would circumvent Sir Alfred Milner, he began checking off on his fingers, starting with the little one.

"I was too much for Sir George Gray," he said, and coming to his third finger, he added: "I was too much for Sir Howard Berkeley."

Then, touching his second finger, he continued: "I was too much for Sir Bartle Frere, and touching his index finger, he added, "I was too much for Sir Hercules Robinson, and I shall be too much for Sir —— *alle naagte!*" he exclaimed, in dismay, for when he attempted to touch his thumb he was reminded that none was there. His manner showed that he was unpleasantly impressed, for there was something in the incident that strongly appealed to the superstitious side of his nature.

A man of such rugged mentality and clear statesmanship, even though of scant education, naturally has a style of writing that is peculiarly his own. Several days after the Jameson raid, the President issued the following proclamation to the citizens of Johannesburg:

**"TO ALL THE RESIDENTS OF JOHANNESBURG.**

"I, S. J. P. Kruger, State President of the South African Republic, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, by virtue of Article VI of the Minutes of the Council, dated January 10, 1896, do hereby make known to all the residents of Johannesburg and neighborhood that I am inexpressibly thankful to God that the despicable and treacherous incursion into my country has been prevented, and the independence of the republic saved, through the courage and bravery of my burghers.

"The persons who have been guilty of this crime must naturally be punished according to law—that is to say, they must stand their trial before the high court and a jury—but there are thousands who have been misled and deceived, and it has clearly appeared to me that even among the so-called leaders of the movement there are many who have been deceived.

"A small number of intriguers in and outside of the quarter ingeniously incited a number of the residents of Johannesburg and

surroundings, under the guise of standing up for political rights, and day by day, as it were, urged them on; and when, in their stupidity, they thought that the moment had arrived, they (the intriguers) caused one Dr. Jameson to cross the boundary of the republic.

“Did they ever ask themselves to what they were exposing you?

“I shudder when I think what bloodshed could have resulted had a merciful Providence not saved you and my burghers.

“I will not refer to the financial damage.

“Now I approach you with full confidence. Work together with the government of this republic, and strengthen their hands to make this country a land wherein people of all nationalities may reside in common brotherhood.

“For months and months I have planned what changes and reforms could have been considered desirable in the government of the state, but the loathsome agitation, especially of the press, has restrained me.

“The same men who have publicly come forward as leaders, have demanded reforms from me, and in a tone and manner which they would not have ventured to have done in their own country, owing to fear for the criminal law. For that cause it was made impossible for me and my burghers, the founders of this Republic, to take their preposterous proposals into consideration.

“It is my intention to submit a draft law at the ordinary session of the Raad, whereby a municipality, with a mayor at the head, would be granted to Johannesburg, to whom the control of the city will be entrusted. According to all constitutional principles, the Municipal Board will be elected by the people of the town.

“I earnestly request you, laying your hands on your hearts, to answer me this question: After what has happened, can and may I

submit this to the representatives of the people? My reply is, I know there are thousands in Johannesburg and the suburbs to whom I can entrust such elective powers. Inhabitants of Johannesburg, render it possible for the Government to go before the Volksraad with the motto, 'Forgotten and Forgiven.'

President Kruger values the following tribute above all that he has ever received from any governmental authority. It was written by Emperor William, of Germany, a few days after the Jameson raid. Coming from such an exalted source it naturally attracted the attention of the civilized world. It is well known that the august ruler of Germany is prone to act upon sudden impulses of feeling, and the dispatch was pronounced "indiscreet" by other nations.

"Received January 3, 1896. From Wilhelm, I. R., Berlin.

"To PRESIDENT KRUGER, PRETORIA:

"I tender you my sincere congratulations that, without appealing to the help of friendly Powers, you and your people have been successful in opposing, with your own forces, the armed bands that have broken into your country to disturb the peace, in restoring order, and in maintaining the independence of your country against attacks from without.

"WILHELM, I. R."

Among the honors which have been conferred upon President Kruger by European rulers, are the following: Knight of the First Class of the Red Eagle of Prussia, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, Grand Knight of the Leopold Order of Belgium, Grand Knight of the Netherland Lion, and Grand Knight of the Portuguese Order of Distinguished Foreigners. With the insignia of these orders displayed on the front of President Kruger's massive chest, it can well be imagined that the sight would be an impressive one.

The next man of importance in the Transvaal, if, indeed, he is not the first during war times, is Commandant-General Pietrus Jacobus Joubert, who is the supreme head of military forces, besides being Vice-President of the Republic. His ability is of a high order, and his popularity fully equal to the president's. Like the greatest military leaders, General Joubert believes that in the settlement of disputes the arbitrament of arms should be the last resort; but a patriot at heart, devotedly attached to his country, he never shrinks from duty, and the fear of death and disaster does not enter his thoughts when called to defend his principles. General Joubert has long been noted for his broad-minded views, and it is well known that he has always advocated a greater liberality towards the Uitlanders than the Republic has been willing to show. As Vice-President of the Republic, his office is little more than a name, his influence therein being insignificant. His popularity among the liberal and progressive Boers is such that he has been twice nominated for the presidency. President Kruger believes that the safety of his country demands the denial, except under rigid conditions, of the franchise for the Uitlanders, while General Joubert claims that there are a great many of them who are at heart friends of the government, and who should, therefore, be given the right to vote. He thinks that such a person should first take an oath of fidelity, with all the responsibility thereby implied, and if, after a test of a few years, his sincerity is clearly proven, he should be admitted to the full privileges now enjoyed by native burghers.

It will be understood from what has been said, that President Kruger and General Joubert represent the two arms of the Republic, one its diplomatic and the other its military. Each began his career in early youth. General Joubert was a volunteer under

Commandant-General Kruger, and through the ability he displayed, won his way to the supreme command of the military forces of the Republic. He taught England his terrible power to smite at Laing's Nek, Bronkhurst Spruit and Majuba Hill, as well as in the most important Boer victories of the late war. He is not merely a fighter, but a strategist, worthy to take rank among the great military leaders of modern days. The following incident is told of him by Howard C. Hillegas in "Oom Paul's People:"

"Shortly after Jameson and his officers were brought to Pretoria, President Kruger called about twenty of the Boer commanders to his house for a consultation. The towns-people were highly excited, and the presence of the men who had tried to destroy the Republic aggravated their condition so that there were few calm minds in the capital. President Kruger was deeply affected by the seriousness of the events of the days before, but counselled all those present to be calm. There were some in the gathering who advised that Jameson and his men should be shot immediately, while one man jocosely remarked that they should not be treated so leniently, and suggested that a way to make them suffer would be to cut off their ears.

"One of the men who was obliged to leave the meeting, gave this account to the waiting throngs in the street, and a few hours afterward the cable had carried the news to Europe and America, with the result that the Boers were called brutal and inhuman. President Kruger used all his influence and eloquence to save the lives of the prisoners, and for a long time he was unsuccessful in securing the smallest amount of sympathy for Jameson and his men. It was dawn when General Joubert was won to the president's way of thinking, and he continued the argument in behalf of the prisoners.

"‘My friends, I will ask you to listen patiently to me for several minutes,’ he commenced. ‘I will tell you the story of the farmer and the neighbor’s dog. Suppose that near your farm lives a man whose valuable dogs attack your sheep and kill many. Will you shoot the dogs as soon as you see them, and in that way make yourself liable for damages greater than the value of the sheep that were destroyed? Or will you catch the dogs when you are able to do so, and, carrying them to your neighbor, say to him: I have got your dogs; now pay me for the damage they have done me, and they shall be returned to you?’

“After a moment’s silence General Joubert’s face lighted up joyfully, and he exclaimed:

“‘We have the neighbor’s dogs in the jail. What shall we do with them?’

“The parable was effective, and the council of war decided almost instantly to deliver the prisoners to the British Government.”

On November 30, 1897, a London newspaper printed the following words which were spoken by General Joubert to its correspondent: “Have not you English always followed on our heels—not on us here only, but all over the world, always conquering, always getting more land? We were independent when you came here. We are independent now, and you shall never take our independence from us. The whole people will fight. You may shed blood over all South Africa, but it will only be over our dead bodies that you will seize our independence. Every Dutchman in South Africa will fight against you. Even the women will fight. You may take away our lives, but our independence—never!”

General Joubert, at this writing, is sixty-eight years old, and comes of an old French Huguenot family, settled a long time ago

TRANSVAAL DEFENSES, JOHANNESBURG. FORT OVERLOOKING TOWN AND MINES.

DR. LEANDER S. JAMESON.

in South Africa, which has a strong infusion of Dutch blood. Born in Cape Colony, he began life as a farmer, but his marked ability soon placed him at the front in public life. He was State Attorney to the South African Republic, before he was Vice-President. He has always been very popular, and in 1893, came within 881 votes of defeating Kruger for the presidency.

His most characteristic traits are his courage, fairness and humanity. It was the most natural thing in the world for him to telegraph his condolence to Lady Symons upon the death of her husband, and nothing could exceed the kindness he showed to his prisoners. He organized the army of the Transvaal and divided the country into seventeen military departments, each department being divided again into smaller divisions, with commanders, field cornets and lieutenants of different rank in charge. Every man had his complete equipment at home and was ready for service almost as soon as notified. He had to send only seventeen telegrams to bring about the mobilization of his army within forty-eight hours.

General Joubert is known far and wide as "Slim Piet," but "slim" has no reference to his figure, which is massive, but to his shrewdness and cunning, and even his enemies will admit that this name has been well earned.

The following interesting letter was addressed to the editor of one of the Magdeburg journals, who had become acquainted with General Joubert in the Transvaal, and to whom he wrote a long letter, in which he expresses his opinions regarding the solution of the Anglo-Boer struggle. There are some statements of the Boer commander that will attract attention:

"Before Ladysmith, Oct. 27.

"MY DEAR SIR: The close of your letter, which reached me this

morning, was prophetic. War has broken out. God grant that it may continue to be as favorable to us as it has been up to the present. It was with a full and firm confidence in the Almighty that we entered upon this war, which was forced upon us, in defense of our country's liberty, for which we are determined to conquer or die.

"You know my countrymen sufficiently not to need any explanation on that point, and that is the reason why I come immediately to the important point of my reply. After the Jameson raid in January, 1896, which, fortunately, we crushed, our government became convinced that England, urged on by classes little worthy of respect, was determined to begin, sooner or later, a war of extermination against the Boers. We were also convinced that the only way to guard against that danger was to accumulate armaments; and, although we knew that the war in question on the part of England would be severely condemned by all the European powers, we foresaw that none of them could intervene efficaciously, because they would all be so strongly influenced by the noisy threats of England and by the armament of her formidable fleet, that the greatest of them would not dare to raise their voices against the insatiable greed of England, even if their own interests were to suffer. Under these circumstances, we had to rely upon our own strength. To arm continually and to conceal our armaments—that was our aim, and in this we have been eminently successful.

"We often allowed the English spies to visit our arsenals where there was nothing but old material, but we carefully concealed our modern material, of which the English knew nothing until the outbreak of the war.

"We were not wrong in counting upon the disdainful reports of the English spies in regard to our military strength, and their boasts about rushing Pretoria did not frighten us.

"But your opinion of the numerical forces of the English seems to me exaggerated. Up to the first week of the month of December the English will not be able to put in the field more than 85,000 men, from which must be deducted at that time at least 10,000 men in killed, wounded, sick and prisoners. From the 75,000 remaining there must be a considerable deduction which will be occupied with the guarding and transportation of supplies; so that it is not likely that there will remain more than 35,000 men for decisive operations.

"Before God I assure you that we Boers have no idea of interfering with English predominance in South Africa. What we insist upon is the complete independence of our own country. But if the war should continue it is the independent spirit of all Afrikanders that will smash British supremacy.

"What do we care for England's 40,000,000 inhabitants, if she can only send 80,000 soldiers here? We Boers, with a population of 170,000 souls, have already 50,000 men in the field, so that we can get along very well without the aid of the Boers of the Cape and of Natal.

"Woe to the English if they continue to excite the savage blacks against us! A universal upheaval of the Afrikanders would be the consequence, and I shudder to think of what that would mean for the English.

"Up to the present time our enemies have fought bravely; but when they begin to suffer the privations of war, demoralization will come upon them, and they will weaken. We are convinced

of our own ultimate triumph and of God's aid in this war, as in our preceding wars with the same foes.

"The blood that must be shed in this struggle, which will last probably more than a year, will not be upon the heads of our children. We fight for our creed and country.

"Hoping that you will cherish a friendly remembrance of my countrymen and of myself, and trusting that these lines may find you in good health, I remain,                   Sincerely yours,

P. J. JOUBERT."

Cecil J. Rhodes is one of several sons of a poor English rector, and while still a young man, was told by his physician that he was incurably affected with consumption, and could not live at the most more than a few years. This was not the first mistaken diagnosis made by a physician. It recalls to the mind of the writer the case of Rear Admiral Charles Stewart, of the American navy, who belonged to a consumptive family and went to sea when a boy, in the faint hope of postponing for a few years the death which all regarded as close at hand. As is well known, Stewart fought through the war with Tripoli, made a brilliant reputation as commander, for a time, of *Old Ironsides*, one of the most famous ships of the American navy, and finally died beyond the age of ninety years. Possibly the milder climate of South Africa was a factor in the restoration of Mr. Rhodes to rugged health and vigor, but it is not improbable that the stirring events in which he became immediately involved, united to his own ambition, had much to do with such restoration.

He is not yet fifty years of age, and he was less than half that when he joined a party who made their way to the Kimberley Diamond Mines. It is to the credit of Mr. Rhodes that he refused to take part in illicit diamond buying, through which many

others acquired wealth. He followed the maxim of "Poor Richard," to make honestly all the money he could, and, no matter how small his income, to lay by a portion for the inevitable rainy-day. His rough, outdoor life proved so beneficial that, at the end of three years, he returned to England and completed his course at Oxford. He then sailed again for South Africa and lost no time in making his way to Kimberley, where, by shrewd investments in mining claims, he not only added greatly to his wealth, but acquired a marked influence in affairs. The history of all great booms shows that the abnormal prosperity was followed, in a short time, by depression which is as abnormal as the original rise in values. It is these depressions which form a golden opportunity for shrewd capitalists. Cecil Rhodes availed himself of the chance thus offered him by a slump in the value of the mining claims. He expended every dollar in buying up shares, claims and lands, and then formed the idea of uniting in a monopoly or syndicate all the diamond industries of that country.

This was so stupendous a scheme that it was far beyond the reach of Mr. Rhodes and his friends. With that resolute audacity which is a distinguishing trait of his nature, he went to the Rothschilds, those colossal bankers whose clients are the leading Powers of the world, briefly stated his wishes, and asked them to advance the necessary capital. It is hardly necessary to say that Mr. Rhodes was successful, and he took back with him to Africa all the money necessary to buy the remaining claims or property in the Kimberley district. The great De Beers Company was formed and Rhodes was made managing director for life, at a salary of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year. The annual dividends of this vast corporation amount to fifty per cent, and nearly half

a billion dollars worth of diamonds have been placed in the markets of the world. This success is mainly due to the marvelous ability of Mr. Rhodes.

It was natural that such an ambitious man should enter politics. His popularity was undeniable, and he became a candidate for the Cape Colony Parliament from the Kimberley District. The same qualities that he had displayed in a business way enabled him to secure his election, which was followed in time by his choice to the highest office in the government of the Colony. He was friendly with everyone, Boer, Dutchman, Afrikander, Englishman and the natives of other countries, an ardent believer in the dogma that every man has his price, and the possessor of almost limitless wealth. It can readily be seen that his success was complete. Like leading politicians elsewhere, Mr. Rhodes soon built up a party upon whose loyalty he could depend, no matter what policy was adopted, through thick and thin. Had he proclaimed a rebellion against the mother country, thousands of men, devotedly attached to the Queen and the home government, would have rallied under his banner, so, when it became manifest that, as has been stated elsewhere, his policy was British rule from Cairo to the Cape, it attracted a multitude of ardent supporters. In the face of difficulties which would have overwhelmed almost any other man, he formed the British South Africa Company, more generally known as the "Charter Company," which, in 1895, became the real owner of Rhodesia. By this time Mr. Rhodes was a multi-millionaire, the head of one of the most enormous capitalistic enterprises of the globe, and the Premier of Cape Colony.

But, like Napoleon, his ambition fed upon itself. Between him and the fulfillment of the supreme ambition of his life towered the

two republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, blocking his path as by a mountain which, however, this genius believed, if it could not be surmounted, could be tunneled. The mistake must not be made of attributing to Mr. Rhodes as a controlling motive in his political course, that of sympathy with the alleged wrongs of the Uitlanders. In truth, he cared nothing for them, and once bluntly told one of their leaders who went to him with complaints, that if dissatisfied with his treatment by the Boers, he was a fool not to accept the remedy within his reach, by leaving the country. It is conceded that Mr. Rhodes was the real instigator of the Jameson raid, which proved, for a time, as disastrous to him as to its immediate participants.

In the spring of 1899 he visited Berlin, where he had an interview with Emperor William and he returned with encouraging reports. It was known that there was danger that the German ruler would interfere in the realization of the pet project of the South African Colossus, which was to carry a telegraph line from the Cape to Alexandria and to follow it with a through African railway. The distance to be covered is 5,664 miles. For half of that distance railways have been built and were in working order, except for the interruption caused by the war in the Transvaal. The easiest task, of course, is the construction of the telegraph, which will undoubtedly be completed within the next four or five years.

The first plan was to build the railway solely through British territory, the hope being that complications with other European powers, through whose possessions it would pass, could be avoided. This, however, proved impossible, for, though most of the land was British and under British sway, there was a belt extending about

ten degrees south of the equator, or some seven hundred miles, which was foreign territory and had to be crossed, though nearly half of it could be utilized by a system of steamers on Lake Tanganyika.

The Anglo-German treaty of 1890 defined the respective spheres of the two countries and an attempt was made to provide for the troublesome questions that all foresaw were sure to arise. Mutual concessions were made, but Germany was immovable on one claim, which was that the western frontier of German East Africa should advance with the eastern frontier of the Congo Free State. The English Foreign Office tried hard to secure a strip of territory along the eastern side of Lake Tanganyika and northward through Uganda, so as to connect the possible British territories of the future. The Soudan, however, was in the hands of the dervishes and the project was too visionary for British statesmanship. At one time, an arrangement was reached with King Leopold by which the gap was bridged and a strip of land fifteen miles wide and several hundred miles in length was guaranteed to the constructor of the proposed British railway line, by the Anglo-Congo Convention of May, 1894, but Germany protested so vigorously that the concession was abandoned.

This compelled Cecil Rhodes to apply to the German authorities at Berlin. His proposal now was to take the railway through German territory by an arrangement with the German Colonial Office. He succeeded in inducing the German government to enter into an agreement with the British South Africa Chartered Company, at the head of which are Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Beit, by which consent was given to carry the line through German East Africa, where the road is to be under the protection of Germany.

CAPE RIFLES GUN DETACHMENT AT FIELD EXERCISE.

BRITISH ARTILLERY PRACTICING WITHIN EARSHOT OF MAUREA HILL.

The agreement entered into early in November, 1899, binds the South Africa Company not to continue its railroad to the west coast from Rhodesia, south of the fourteenth degree, except from a point on the Anglo-German frontier, while Germany was pledged not to construct a railway north of the fourteenth degree to the west coast until the line is built south of that degree through German Southwest Africa. Subsequently Germany signed an agreement allowing Mr. Rhodes' Cape to Cairo telegraph line to be carried through German East Africa, in accordance with the provisions recited in the Reichstag in March, 1899. The meaning of this bargain is that Germany secures the connection of any westerly extensions of the Rhodesian lines with the proposed German lines in German East Africa, which will probably start from Swakop, near Walfish Bay. This affords a much shorter route from England to Rhodesia than by way of Cape Town.

His next step in carrying out his unquenchable purpose was the futile attempt to boom and develop Rhodesia. He is, to-day, the most prominent Englishman connected with public affairs in Africa, and is admired for his unquestionable genius. It is easy to understand the inextinguishable hatred felt towards him by President Kruger and the Boers. It is safe to say that the prime object of the latter in their attack upon Kimberley, was the capture of Rhodes, whose value to them as a prisoner, they placed above that of the great diamond mines. It was said repeatedly, and doubtless with truth, that no risk or effort was too great for the Boers to put forth in order to secure the one whom they regarded as their greatest and most dangerous enemy.

Speaking more personally of Mr. Rhodes, it may be said that he is unmarried, looking upon a wife as a handicap, rather than a

help to an ambitious man. He dresses poorly, is very generous, is a man of few words, of much magnetism, abstemious in his habits and despises formality and all ostentation. When he sets out to accomplish any purpose he believes he is justified in removing every obstacle by any means at his hand. To him well applies the anecdote told of Thaddeus Stevens, the great Republican leader in the United States Congress during reconstruction times, who, when a member of his party met one of his demands with the reply: "My conscience will not permit me to cast my vote as you insist," was answered by the indignant Stevens with the exclamation: "To —— with your conscience."

Reference has been frequently made in these pages to the Afrikander Bond. This political organization has acquired control of Cape Colony under the policy of "South Africa for South Africans;" in other words, that the interests of South Africa shall be served first, and that of Great Britain afterward. The majority of its members are Dutch, who believe that their chief duty is to aid in developing their resources by rigid legislation and wise protective tariffs. This object attained, it is then time to give attention to the interests of Great Britain. It is not unnatural, perhaps, that the members of the Bond should be favorably disposed toward those of the same faith in the Transvaal. They approve the course of President Kruger in dealing with the franchise dispute, and, consequently, their loyalty to the home country, in case of war against their friends to the north, is no more than a brittle thread.

## CHAPTER XIII

### A COUNTRY OF BOUNDLESS POSSIBILITIES

The eyes of the world have been directed on South Africa for several years because of the great commercial possibilities afforded in this distant land. The wants of the Afrikanders have steadily grown as they have settled up the country, until now, all nations are eager to secure a portion of the augmenting trade. The Afrikanders, as a rule, have been quick to avail themselves of modern implements and inventions of all kinds. The United States has entered into the contest for the South African business with some degree of success! Other countries are exporting largely, England having a vast volume of export business with the South African Colonies and Republics.

The latest account of South Africa was written by United States Consul-General at Cape Town, James G. Stowe, who made a tour of inspection through Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and gave the result of his observations in a report to the State Department, dated June 15, 1899, under the title of "Commercial Development of South Africa."

Mr. Stowe's first journey occupied two days and one night, and led him from Cape Town to Kimberley, a distance of 647 miles. The ride was made in a compartment car, which in that part of the world takes the place of sleeping and dining cars. At night his bed consisted of "one sheet double, one small pillow and two blankets made up," for which he paid a sum in English money equivalent to \$2.43.

On the first afternoon he passed through the Hex Mountains, whose rugged appearance recalled Colorado in his own country.

"In the distance on each side could be seen the 'coppies' (hills) assuming all shapes and heights. These wastes were covered with a stunted bush, the food of the sheep which once roamed about in large numbers, now sadly decimated by disease. At the foot of the coppies are some fertile fields, whose principal products are Kaffir corn and mealies. The Kaffir corn is in the tassel—not in the ear; the mealie is like our own Indian corn, but smaller in ear and grain, and when ground and mixed with cold water is more palatable than our Indian corn when scalded. The mealie is planted in rows and left to mature. It is never cultivated; hence the plant runs to stalk and not to ear."

The sight of herds of cattle and sheep added to the reminder of his native land; but besides goats and the animals named, he saw what is witnessed nowhere else in the world, large numbers of ostriches. It would be supposed that this stupid creature, whose lack of sense makes it an easy prey to the Bushmen, would have been frightened by the roar of the iron horse and train, but the birds showed less timidity than the quadrupeds, for they came up to the fence and stared wonderingly at the train as it thundered past. The fences inclosing the track were of American barbed wire, but the Dutchmen improved upon them by attaching the wire to heavy iron posts and gates that had been imported from Europe.

We have already given the principal facts about the famous Kimberley diamond mines, but some of Mr. Stowe's statements are worth repeating. He found that the city contained 35,000 inhabitants, most of whom were drawn thither by the mines. The general manager of them is Gardiner F. Williams, who is also the United States Consular

Agent. A pleasing surprise to the visitor was that many of the most responsible positions in the mines are held by Americans. Moreover, the United States furnish the majority of the 2,000 horses and mules used in the mines, and some of the 200,000 pounds of beef and 25,000 pounds of mutton consumed by the 15,000 natives and 25,000 whites employed in the mines. "I was not at all surprised to see American machinery here," Mr. Stowe remarks. "The immense driving gear of a pumping engine 'made in England' had to be sent to Chicago to have the cogs cut. The company is operating an ice plant, made in Chicago, and three more have been ordered, each with a capacity of five tons a day, and 20,000 cubic feet of cold storage, besides a complete dynamite plant, with an American to manage it. The 150 miles of railroad in and about the mines are laid with American rails, and every tie and sleeper is of California redwood, which in this country is the wood par excellence for this purpose. Three ships from California have recently arrived with cargoes of redwood and Oregon pine. The ice company sells its product for half-a-cent a pound, while in Cape Town the price is four cents. All the water used in and about the city flows through pipes made in the United States. I was pulled to Kimberley by an American engine, and there are several others in use in Cape Colony."

Mr. Stowe was impressed by the care which the company took to provide for its employees. It has built the village of Kennilworth, covering 500 acres and occupied by white employees, at nominal cost. Water and light are furnished free, and there is a club house, a library, reading rooms, athletic grounds, a park and vegetable gardens, with vines and fruits of all kinds in profusion.

"The native employees are housed in compounds. On the four sides of a large square are erected one-story buildings of corrugated

iron, opening to the center of the square. They are divided into rooms which hold twenty persons, who sleep in bunks three high. Within each compound is a store which supplies the natives with clothes, food, etc., at very reasonable prices. In the center of the square is a large swimming pool, well patronized. Adjacent to the compound is a hospital, free to the sick and injured. Extended over the whole enclosure, which occupies several acres, is a wire netting, to prevent the throwing over of diamonds enclosed in tin cans, etc., as was once the natives' practice. Outside the compound, and ten feet from it, is a barbed wire fence ten feet high, with fourteen strands of wire. An underground passage leads to the mine shaft, and the men are examined as they return from work. Within the compound I visited (there are three) were 3,500 natives, and, as it was Sunday, they were all enjoying themselves, dancing, playing on musical instruments, beating drums, reading the Bible or 'Pilgrim's Progress' in their own language, singing hymns, cooking, sewing, smoking hemp in cow horns and gambling. Some were clothed, some not; some had their teeth filed to resemble a saw, others had their heads shaved except a fringe at the back. Some were tattooed, and nearly all had holes through the lobe of the right ear, to hold anything that might come to hand. I saw spoons, straws, feathers and stubs of cigars disposed of in this manner. The natives are under contract for six months and receive from one shilling to three shillings (24 to 79 cents) a day. They are not allowed to leave the compound during the time of the contract. No liquor is furnished them. They are happy and contented, and the system is good for the native, the industry and the country. They are kept in a detention room one week before their contracts expire and made to wear gloves made of two discs of leather, locked to their wrists. Their clothes are taken

from them and examined and at the end of the week they leave without any diamonds."

The mines are the crater of an extinct volcano. What is now a level prairie was once a volcano. Cropping out on the surface appeared a blue rock which was found to contain diamonds. The mouth of the crater is 312 feet below the surface. They dug 300 feet lower, so that the mine is now 612 feet deep. The rock is elevated to the surface by powerful machinery and conveyed to the floors or level ground, at present occupying about 200 acres. Here it is left for a year to the action of the sun, wind and rains, until it decomposes and falls apart. It is then taken to the crushing and washing machines and afterward to the pulsators which separate it into different sizes and again wash it. Finally, it passes over shaking tables, covered with grease, which catches and retains the diamonds. These are then washed in acid and taken to the valuator. Roughly speaking, out of 3,000,000 tons of blue rock three-fourths of a ton of diamonds are obtained. The valuator assorts the diamonds according to color and purity. I saw on his table the output of one week, worth \$300,000. A syndicate of buyers takes the product of the mines.

It is well known that the United States are among the foremost customers of the Kimberley mines, which in turn is one of our best customers, but Mr. Stowe is convinced that we ought to have still more of the trade, especially in galvanized corrugated sheet iron, which is used extensively throughout Africa. The immense buildings in the Kimberley and Johannesburg mine are constructed of it, as are also thousands of dwelling houses, barns, warehouses, fences, etc. The merchants in all African cities carry it in stock, of regular lengths, packed by European manufacturers in bundles of twelve sheets, held together by iron bands.

Leaving Kimberley, the Consul-General, after a ride of 167 miles, reached the borders of the Orange Free State, the ally of the Transvaal in the last war. A striking difference in the scene met the eye. "The land was more fertile, the houses of the Kaffirs and Hottentots are seen, the former looking like tops of balloons, the latter square and built of stones. The Kaffir huts show the natural skill and inventive genius of the tribe. Long branches or trunks of a tree that grows high and has a small diameter are planted in the ground in a circle, bent to the center and fastened. Then the native flat grass is woven in and out between them, making a habitation watertight and yet cool." The panorama presented in the ride of 334 miles across the Orange Free State is monotonous but not unpleasing. "More and better farming is noticed, the crops are more diversified. In the fields, plows and reapers and mowers of familiar home patterns gladden the eye of the American traveler. These implements, imported from the United States by dealers at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban, are sold extensively throughout Africa. Though much of the land is still idle, the Free State is prosperous, and the Dutch farmers, unlike their neighbors and allies across the Vaal, welcome all comers to citizenship on easy terms."

The consul and his fellow travelers were detained for five hours at the boundary of the Republic before they were allowed to set out for Pretoria, seventy-seven miles inward. This city, as the reader will recall, is the capital of the Republic and the residence of the President, "Oom Paul;" but like most capitals, it is not a business center. Mr. Stowe declares that he never rode over a better roadbed, or in more comfortable cars than when he made the journey from Pretoria to Johannesburg, over the Netherlands railway, which it is

**IN THE NICK OF TIME—SAVING THE WIRE.**

MAXIM DETACHMENT, NATAL CARBONERS.

said is owned in Holland. The train was equipped with every convenience, and the dining cars were as good as those in this country, but they had one serious drawback; even to the sides and covering they were made of iron, which, under the flaming sun in midsummer, renders their heat within almost intolerable.

In some respects, Johannesburg is the most wonderful city in all Africa. On the 20th of September, 1886, the site was marked off by stakes driven into the unbroken veldt, and given the dignified name of a township. For a few years it was nothing more than a mining camp, whose buildings were of corrugated iron, dragged thither in carts over hundreds of miles of veldt by plodding ox-teams. The railway connecting Johannesburg with Cape Town was completed in 1893.

One day in 1885, Johannes Bezuidenhut, a glum, stolid Boer, stopped on the site of the town, where not a living person or any one beside himself was within miles, and in his slow, ponderous fashion, he set to work to build himself a hut. There he stayed until in time others closed in around him, drawn thither by the discovery of gold. Thus the city named in his honor was founded.

To-day Johannesburg throbs and hums with life, for its thousands are hustling to obtain a share in the measureless treasure that lies under the foundations of the city. The people number about 200,000 and they are swayed by the one all-powerful, resistless ambition which leads men to brave suffering, hardship and death in every form. The city contains hundreds of fine dwellings, many of which form magnificent residences of stone or marble that would do credit to any city in our own country.

Some of the club houses are palatial; the stock exchange is majestic; the city has five fine theaters and opera houses; first class hotels,

where thousands of guests can be accommodated, imposing churches, museums, hospitals, electric street railways, race tracks and polo grounds, with numberless gambling houses, never closed day or night, week days or Sundays, the year round.

It is claimed that there is more gold underneath Johannesburg than the world ever saw. Within a circle of twenty miles from Market Square, there was taken more gold in 1898 than was produced by the North American continent and more than was mined in Australia. We are accustomed to think of the Klondike as the most productive auriferous region yet discovered, but all the product of that section down to the present time is less than one-tenth of the gold taken from the South African mines in 1898.

The total output for the year 1895 was 2,277,685 ounces, which was an increase of 250,000 ounces on 1894, and of about 800,000 ounces on the output of 1893. And here are some figures whose full meaning is beyond our grasp:

The total record of the Witwaterstrand reef on which Johannesburg is built, already exceeds 40,000,000 ounces of gold, worth more than \$800,000,000. This vast sum weighs 1,250 tons, so that allowing fifty tons to each car the gold production of the district would load a train of twenty-five cars. Moreover, it is known that the gold awaiting extraction is worth more than \$4,000,000,000, which, following the rule just named, would load five freight trains of twenty-five cars each. It is useless to try to comprehend these astounding figures.

The Boer government took no action regarding the new gold fields until July 18, 1886, when it proclaimed and threw open nine farms. In November of the following year, there were sixty-eight mining companies with a capital of \$15,000,000; in January, 1890, there were 540 gold mining companies, with an aggregate capital of

\$35,000,000. The output steadily grew, until in the month of May, 1892, the mines yielded 100,000 ounces, and this has increased until in the month of August, 1899, it reached 482,108 ounces.

The gold first found at the Rand cropped out of the ground in five parallel reefs, whose thickness varied from one inch to four feet. The southermost reef was separated from the northern by an average distance of one hundred and fifty feet. The first claims were 400x150 feet, the latter dimension being east and west along the reefs, and the former north and south so as to include the five outcrops. It was not until two or three years later that a remarkable fact regarding the formation of the gold-bearing veins was discovered. This was that the veins after descending some two thousand feet, curved away and ran horizontally in a southerly direction to a distance whose extent has not at this writing been learned. This discovery was a source of wonderment to old miners who suspected nothing of the kind.

Naturally people began staking off claims to the southward and sinking shafts. Many hundreds of these were pushed to a depth of 2,000 feet, and in every instance they struck the rich conglomerate and brought most valuable returns for the labor. Scores upon scores of new companies were formed to work the deep levels, miles from the outcrop of the gold itself.

Now, almost the first question that occurred to men interested in developing these mines, was—

*Where is the other side of this basin-like formation?*

It was fair to suppose that at some unknown distance, perhaps hundreds of miles away, the southern edge of the basin came up again to the surface. Wherever that was, were riches beyond estimate.

There have been determined and persistent efforts to discover

this treasure, parties of veteran miners penetrating into desolate wastes where they were the first white men to tread, but, as stated, the discovery down to the present writing has not been made. It was the mania for making this marvelous find that led to the formation of the British South African Chartered Company, which is largely responsible for the support given to the ambitious schemes of Cecil Rhodes.

American genius and push have had much to do with the building of Johannesburg upon the foundation of its mineral wealth. The managers, superintendents and consulting engineers of the mines were Americans almost to a man.

"I was glad," writes Mr. Stowe, in his report, "to find that American ability was recognized by other countries. J. C. Manion, United States Consular Agent, has been the means of introducing American machinery and supplies of all kinds to the value of millions of dollars. For twenty miles on each side of the city extend the headgears and smokestacks of mines, more than one hundred of them, which have made the city and state what they are, and enabled President Kruger to sell a farm for \$400,000 the day I was in Johannesburg." Some idea of the magnitude of the mining interests is afforded by Consul Stowe's observations. "Over fifteen tons of gold per month is the product of the mines, and new discoveries are reported daily. The main reef crops out at the surface and the veins dip to great depth; some of the shafts are going down to 3,200 feet levels." And here is another incident of direct bearing upon the war: "Complaints are made of the price of dynamite, which costs 70 shillings (\$17.03) per case, and could be bought outside of the state for 40 shillings (\$9.73). The government granted the concession to a company, which makes thousands of pounds sterling out of it annually. A concession for the

manufacture of candles has been granted, so that the miners will have to buy of the home manufacturer, as the duty is prohibitive. The railways, I was told, charge for freight from the border of Johannesburg, a distance of forty-seven miles, as much as it costs to haul from the seaports, 1,000 miles away. While the United States cannot now compete for the candle trade, I am pleased to state that the candle factory will be equipped with American machinery throughout."

The next place visited by the consul was Durban, in Natal, the most important port of entry, with the exception of Cape Town, on the South African coast, and a favorite winter resort for the people of Johannesburg. The imports of Durban, for January and February, 1899, were 27,367 tons, valued at \$530,826. The Americans have a large and growing share in this business. The following incident related by Mr. Stowe is significant:

"A Durban merchant said to me: 'I recently ordered five tons of hoop iron of a European manufacturer. After the order had gone forward one of your American salesmen came along and made me a price ten dollars a ton less. I gave him an order for five tons and then tried to have the other order cancelled; but the foreign house refused, saying that no one could make and guarantee a first-class article at the price named, and a test would prove it. When the iron arrived I tested both, and the American was several per cent. better.'"

Nothing escaped the keen eyes of Mr. Stowe. At the hotel where he stayed, the doors and trimmings and even electric lights were of American origin. "In fact," he said, "I was, during my whole trip, all the time putting my hand on something American. I was told that our screw drivers, hammers, hatchets, chisels, etc., were so

cheap, though good, that it did not pay to have them ground or repaired—that it was better and cheaper to buy new ones.

The consul also visited Port Elizabeth and Mossell Bay. In the latter port, he found a British ship discharging a cargo of 1,000 tons of rails from the United States for a new railroad. Inquiry showed that American goods were rapidly growing in favor. Commenting upon the telephone service in different South African cities, Mr. Stowe says: "In Kimberley the service is American and good; in Johannesburg, it is Dutch and everybody continually finds fault; no service after five o'clock, and a year's subscription, about seventy-five dollars a month, in advance; in Durban it is German and fair."

In a later report, dated August 25, 1899, Mr. Stowe says that the imports at Natal during the preceding ten months had increased by nearly a million dollars, and those from Great Britain increased only \$678,983. An extensive trade in American fruit and shade trees had also grown up and there is an active demand for sprayers and chemical preparations for destroying insects.

The Orange Free State, which, with the Transvaal, forms the only two independent republics in South Africa, has about the area of the State of New York, and a population of 93,000 whites and 140,000 natives of the Basuto and Barolong tribes. Bloemfontein, 750 miles north of Table Bay, 450 miles north Port Elizabeth, and 400 miles north of East London is the capital. It consists of an elevated table land 4,000 feet above the sea level, and is 400 miles long by 200 miles wide. The southern part is dotted with kopjes or individual hills, but otherwise the interior consists of undulating prairies, which were formerly covered with coarse grass, but this is now changed to a scrubby brush or copse, which affords excellent grazing for sheep, much better than the coarse and sour grasses in different places.

It is a singular fact that the Orange Free State is virtually a treeless country. The wood found on the hill sides and in the moist valleys of the rivers is a scant scrub or mimosa thorn, the wild olive, the willow, and the camel thorn, which is a species of wild acacia. Naturally the chief lands are best adapted to pastoral purposes, but a 30x100 mile strip of land on the Basutoland border has no superior in the world for grain producing purposes.

Because their principal labor consists of stock raising and grain growing the burghers have plenty of leisure to devote to war. The fertile strip referred to, without irrigation or fertilizing, yields from thirty to eighty bushels to the acre, after forty consecutive years of cultivation. This strip was taken from the Basutos in 1864 and is known as the Conquered Territory. It forms the granary of the Orange Free State and of the Transvaal. It not only produces wheat, oats, barley, maize and Kaffir corn, but carries large herds of cattle, horses, sheep, angora goats and ostriches. Pears, apples, peaches and grapes, are also largely grown. The tract derives its greatest importance from its being the Boer base of supplies. The mountains facing British South Africa are relied upon, supplemented by Boer strategy and bravery, to hold the great prize inviolate against all enemies of the twin republics.

Diamonds are plentifully mined in the Orange Free State. It was on the fields of Jagersfontein that the famous 900 carat Jagersfontein Excelsior was found in May, 1893. The precious stones are also obtained at Koffyfontein in the southwestern part of the Republic. The output of the Jagersfontein field for January, 1899, was 15,189 carats, valued at \$150,000 and that of Koffyfontein for the same period was 1,500 carats, worth \$11,000.

There is a marked similarity between the characteristics of the

people of the two republics. In the Free State, they are peaceful, educated, well-governed and passionately devoted to their country, which is divided into nineteen districts, each of which is presided over by a landdrost or magistrate. Every district is subdivided into one, two or more wards, according to size or importance, and each ward sends a member to the Volksraad or Legislature. In addition, every town also elects a member of the Volksraad, to which is delegated the government of the country. The President, who is the responsible head of the executive department, is advised by an Executive Council and by the High Court, composed of a chief justice and two puisne judges.

About \$2,000,000 is obtained annually from the revenue of the State for the support of the government. These sources are mainly as follows: quit rent on farms at the rate of forty-eight cents for each 100 morgen, or 200 acres; transfer dues on unmovable or fixed property, at the rate of four per cent.; a two per cent. rate on movables, that is, all goods sold by auction; a hut or capitation tax of \$2.50 a head on natives. The custom house yields about \$600,000 annually, from a twelve per cent. ad valorem levy on all over-sea goods crossing the border. Through a treaty with the Cape Colony Government these dues are levied at the ports of Cape Colony. They are also levied on the Natal border by Orange Free State officers in accordance with the provisions of the customs union existing between the Cape Government and the Free State. The former retains three per cent. of the twelve per cent. duty to recoup itself for the expense of collecting these dues for the Republic.

Each year the Orange Free State expends about \$150,000 on roads, \$300,000 on bridges and comparatively large amounts for

ARMORED TRAIN.

ARTILLERY CROSSING THE KLIP RIVER.

THE TRANSVAAL CRISIS—LADYSMITH CAMP, NATAL, MARCH, 1899.

public buildings. It is a creditable fact that about one-third of the whole revenue of the State is used for educational grants and public works. The school system is one of the finest in the world. The majority of the people are members of the Dutch Reformed Church, which is the established religion of the country. Nearly every little village has its congregation and the government contributes about \$40,000 annually for the support of that religion, which is paid into the church synod to be used as that body deems proper. Other religious denominations which have churches in the Orange Free State are: Episcopalians, Lutherans, Catholics, Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians, though their individual membership is small. The Separatist Dutch Church has a number of important congregations at different places in the country.

Because of its greater altitude the climate is drier than that of its neighbors. It is therefore healthful for persons with weak lungs, corresponding in that respect to the southwestern states of our own country. The dry season is in the winter time, but the periods of rain and moisture are uncertain. The evaporation from the lower countries is often condensed on the plateau and causes sudden and enormous overflows of the streams. In the winter time, the rivers are shallow and almost cease to flow, sometimes shrinking to what are called "pans," with drifts or fords in places. These peculiar water basins are found in the middle veldt or watershed territory, between any two rivers, and are occasionally salt or brackish. They are most numerous in the Bloemfontein, Jacobsdal, Fauresmith and Boshof districts. One of these large, circular depressions, the Hagans-Pan, is worked by a salt company, which sells the product in Johannesburg. A scientific analysis has shown that this salt has no superior in the world. Lest the reader should form an

incorrect idea of the size of the pan referred to, it may be said, that it is two miles across.

The rivers of the Orange Free State are not navigable, but they are well stocked with fish, some of which, so far as known, are found nowhere else. Among these is the barber, which grows to the length of seven feet, has no scales and very few bones. Its head is large and ungainly, and it has eight cirri-feelers on the lower lip. The yellow fish, occasionally reaching a weight of twenty pounds, is found in all the Free State waters. Others are the whitefish, calveshead and the undermouth, while the iguana and the river turtle abound. Lying south of the Transvaal, there are few large wild animals found in the Free State. The most common are antelopes, wildebeests, olesboks, anteaters, wildcats, miercats, hedgehogs, porcupines, jackals, hyenas, armadillos and wild dogs, the last being almost extinct.

Among the important laws governing the Orange Free State are those for the establishment of high and low courts for the trial of causes; the making of the Dutch language (1854) the official language of the State, and the Commando law regulating the calling out of the burghers in time of war. Under this law, every male inhabitant between sixteen and sixty years is subject to call and conscription. The number thus made available in 1899 was about 23,000. The holding of burgher reviews (wapenschouwings) takes place in time of peace once every four years in every district, and yearly in each ward or sub-district. Every man between the age of eighteen and forty is obliged to attend these encampments armed and mounted, but the townspeople are relieved from the obligation of attending mounted. Each burgher is furnished by the government with a rifle at actual cost, which is twenty dollars or slightly more.

As has been said, the people resemble in many respects their neighbors of the Transvaal. They are simple, sincere and honest in their dealings, and when a visitor is believed to be worthy, he is treated with the hospitality and kindness of a son. They are very moral, and the guest who violates the confidence reposed in him by the parents of a daughter, is pretty sure to pay the penalty with his life.



## CHAPTER XIV

### A ROYAL HUNTING GROUND

For many years, South Africa was royal hunting ground for the most intrepid and skillful marksmen of the world. The exploits of Gordon Cumming and scores of others equally skilled and daring, in their chase after lions, elephants, hippopotami, rhinoceroses and numerous other specimens of large game, have been of a thrilling character. North of the region and under the equator is the habitat of the gorilla, discovered by De Chaillu, which in some respects is the most terrible creature that haunts the forests, since its ferocity is resistless and its strength incredible.

There were many sections in the southern part of the continent that were uninhabitable because of the savage lions, just as in some portions of India, man has been driven out by the tiger. When the Boers migrated from Cape Colony to the Transvaal, they were obliged to clear the way by killing thousands of lions. The number, there is good reason to believe, was fully 6,000, and the slaying was a necessity in order to make life secure.

Among the most noted of these lion killers was President Kruger, then a powerful and active young man. The incident has been told many times of his attacking a fierce lion single-handed when armed with only a hunting knife. Indeed, he gained the well-earned reputation of being the greatest lion killer among his people, and even now, though well advanced in years, there are few who can surpass him in the skill with which he handles a rifle.

Since our own country produces many of the greatest hunters

in the world, it may be interesting to give some information of South Africa as a hunting field. The most accessible grounds, under ordinary circumstances, are in the east and south of the Transvaal. From May to November is the favorable time, for then little rain falls and the season is healthful.

Second to the Transvaal, is that portion of Portuguese territory to the northward of the Pungine River, and almost touching Beira. It teems with quail, guinea fowl, sand grouse, snipe, wild duck, wild geese, rails, widgeon and teal. And next to these hunting sections comes the region lying some forty miles to the north and northwest of Fort Salisbury, which is about four hundred miles from Mafeking, and has an elevation of 5,000 feet. There the roan antelope and sable are found in limitless numbers.

Experienced hunters generally start from either Kimberley or Pretoria, because the supplies are more readily obtained there than at most other points. One of the greatest drawbacks is the transportation from place to place. It is necessary to have a tent wagon and a team of twelve to sixteen oxen. These wagons are broad and strong, without springs, and fitted with extensive lockers for provisions and blankets, and being closed in with canvas, furnish sleeping accommodations.

The cost of an outfit ranges from \$800 to \$1,500. The horse needed by each member costs \$75. The animals known as "salted" horses, or those recovered from horse sickness, and absolutely indispensable, if the trip is extended beyond the winter, cost as much as \$300 each.

Another serious handicap to hunters after small game is the lack of good dogs, and the principal cause of this scarcity is that the mail boats from England to Cape Town charge \$26 for the

importation of each hunting dog. There are plenty of mongrels but they are not worth much. One of the most experienced of hunters, when asked about hunting in this comparatively unknown territory, said:

"English sportsmen have but little conception of the diversity of feathered game that lies everywhere at hand in South Africa, or I imagine that Cape Colony would be much more exploited by fowlers than it has been hitherto.

I have seen within the colony alone no less than six kinds of francolins, seven kinds of bustards, two species of quail, two of guinea fowl, two of the sand grouse family, and two sorts of snipe. I have seen many species of rails, teal, widgeon and wild duck, and wild geese abound."

The value of ostrich feathers has caused the bird to be hunted so persistently that it will probably soon become extinct, though it is still found in considerable numbers to the north of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. The Kori bustard, called "gompauw" by the Boers, is next in size to the ostrich, its more common name being "gum peacock," because of its supposed fondness for the gum of the moniosa tree. The male bird weighs sixty or seventy pounds and reaches a height of five feet. The "koorhaan" is another species of bustard, hard to shoot because of its great fleetness, and its croak is as grating to the ears as the filing of a saw.

The eland is the largest of the antelopes, but only a few are found south of the Limpopo. It weighs half a ton, and its length from horns to base of tail is nearly nine feet, with a height at the shoulders of five feet, nine inches, and with horns two feet, ten inches long. Its meat is excellent, and the animal is so unsuspicuous that it is easily killed. The most numerous of the large antelopes

is the koodoo. The bontebok, often referred to as the "harnessed antelope" is found in considerable numbers in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland, but is practically extinct in Cape Colony and the Free State.

Hunting the gemsbok is always exciting sport. Its habitat is to the north of Cape Colony, in the Kalahari Desert, and in the German possessions to the north of the Orange River. It is very powerful and vicious, with sharp horns, three feet long. Many instances are known of this daring animal, not four feet high at the shoulders, killing a full grown lion. You can see to-day in a sporting house at Pretoria the skeleton of a lion impaled on the keen-pointed horns of a gemsbok. The Oryx appears in the Cape coat of arms, and is said to be the original of the unicorn, the two horns, viewed in profile, appearing as one.

The haartebeest (meaning stag ox), the zwaart wildebeest, or black wild ox, though really a white-tailed gnu, and vaal are plentiful in the mountain ranges of the Colony and Natal and in the neighborhood of the Orange River. The shy rhebok is so fleet of foot that it is one of the hardest of tasks to run it down. It is five feet long, only half as high, and weighs 450 pounds. Almost equally hard to run down is the sturdy klipspringer, found only in the most rugged mountains. It resembles the English rock-buck and is often referred to as the klipbok.

In the bushy sections browse the ducker and steen. The word "ducker" means diver and the animal gets its name from its habit of plunging like a diver into the thickest bushes upon hearing the least noise. This, added to its dark-brown color, makes it one of the most difficult of all games to bag.

Among the smallest and most beautiful antelopes is the steen

**AFTER THE BATTLE—ANXIOUS INQUIRERS AT THE WAR OFFICE.**

A COMPLETE STANDSTILL—STUCK FAST IN THE CROCODILE RIVER.

bok, the name meaning "stone goat." The bosch bok, or bush buck, because of its slowness of movement, is easily secured, and when at bay, barks like a dog. The springbok, or jumping goat, is the most numerous of the antelope family and herds of them are met in the mountains.

Those who do not like hunting the elephant, lion, leopard, rhinoceros and hippopotamus can try their skill upon the wolf, hyena, jackal, wild dog, wild hog, giraffe, zebra and baboon. Many experienced hunters consider the buffalo, with his terrible horns, speed, courage and ferocity, the most formidable of all wild animals. "I would rather stand within fifty paces of a Boer rifleman," said a veteran, "and have him take dead aim at my chest, than to stand that distance unarmed before a buffalo, without any refuge within reach; for the gun might miss fire, but there would be no escape from the buffalo." It requires special permission to shoot the animal in the Colony or Natal.

The South African lions are the finest in the world, having double the strength of the ordinary lion. The gray-necked is the most ferocious, is forty-eight inches high at the shoulder, weighs six hundred pounds, and is twelve feet from nose to tail tip. It can clear eighteen paces at a bound, and has leaped an ordinary wall with a fair-sized bullock in its mouth.

Few elephants remain in the Colony or Transvaal. In 1875, the export of ivory from Cape Colony was more than \$300,000, while to-day it is less than \$10,000. The animals are the largest in the world. Those of our readers who can recall "Jumbo," which P. T. Barnum brought to this country some years ago, will never forget his stupendous size. One of the peculiarities of these beasts is their enormous ears. When an elephant kneels on the ground

during a rain storm, his keeper readily finds secure shelter behind one of these gigantic flaps. In charging, a bull elephant has a way of spreading his ears horizontally, like immense fins. From tip to tip across the forehead, the distance is twelve or fourteen feet. Tusks have been taken weighing 300 pounds, but the weight is generally about half of that. The heaviest rifles, naturally, are required to hunt the elephant. The Boers are fond of the old smooth-bore "roer" which carries a four-ounce spherical bullet, the gun itself weighing thirty pounds. The choice of weapons, however, is a matter of taste with the hunter.

While the Boers did excellent work in ridding the country of lions, they offset it by the ruthless destruction of the harmless and graceful giraffe, from Cape Colony to the Bottetti River. These animals were the most abundant game in the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Matabeleland, and their wholesale destruction was prompted by gain, for their skins brought from ten to twenty dollars.

The giraffe, or camelopard, is a remarkable creature, whose appearance is too familiar to be described, but it has some peculiarities that are not commonly understood. Its horns differ both in texture and shape from those of all other horned quadrupeds, seeming to form a part of the skull and consisting of two porous, bony substances, about three inches long, with which the top of the head is armed, and which are placed just above the ears and crowned with a thick tuft of stiff, upright hairs. A considerable protuberance also rises on the middle of the forehead between the eyes, which seems to be an enlargement of the bony substance and resembles the insignificant horns mentioned.

There have been wild giraffes that measured seventeen feet

from the top of the head to the forefeet, but none of that altitude have ever been seen in captivity. An inspection of the animal will show that its forelegs are not so much greater than the hind ones in length as at first appears, the seeming disparity being due to the extraordinary height of the shoulders.

The giraffe seldom brings its head down to the ground, except when it wishes to drink, and then it is obliged to spread its front legs far apart and bend its neck in a semi-circular form. At such times, its appearance is grotesquely awkward. The eyes are large, dark and lustrous, and with so mild an expression that more than one veteran hunter has been touched with pity at sight of the creature lying on the ground and breathing out its life, without the least attempt at resistance or revenge upon the one who has thus brought him low.

Nevertheless, the animal is capable of putting up a stout fight against its four-footed enemies. The tiny horns are by no means the insignificant weapons they appear to be, and the owner can strike a crushing blow, which he does, not by suddenly depressing and elevating its head, like the bull or ram, but by means of a sidelong sweep of the neck. Its chief weapon is its hind legs, with which it can kick, not only with amazing vigor, but so rapidly that the eye can hardly follow the movements. Hunters tell of seeing it beat off the lion by means of these lightning-like blows.

Rarely or never has a giraffe made resistance to a hunter. The animal is in truth absolutely defenceless against him, its only recourse being in flight, though it can dodge rapidly from tree to tree in the woods; but its form makes it so prominent an object that it is one of the most easily hunted animals in existence. So it was, that its slaying lost the nature of sport to the Boers, who

valued the animals solely for their hides. More than 50,000 were killed and the few survivors driven north. They were pot-hunted, shot down in droves and destroyed wholesale. It was not an uncommon thing for a hunter to kill forty or fifty of the graceful animals in a single day, and inevitably their fate became that of the buffalo in our own country. Where tens of thousands of these animals roamed over our prairies a few years ago, not one of them is found to-day.

The hide of the giraffe, as has been shown, was the cause of its lamentable destruction. Occasionally, the bullet of the hunter failed to kill, for the skin in some places is three-quarters of an inch thick and exceedingly tough. The hide, when cured and tanned, forms good leather for certain purposes. From it, the Boers make riding whips and saddles, but by far the larger portion of the skins are sent to Europe. It should not be forgotten also that the leg bones have a commercial value, for they are solid, instead of hollow as is the case with most other animals, and are therefore useful for manufacturing buttons and other articles. The tendons are astonishingly strong, because of which they have also a pecuniary value.

From what has been stated, it will be seen that South Africa possesses many attractions to our countrymen, a fact which had caused thousands to emigrate thither, and which will doubtless be the cause of many more thousands seeking their fortune in the southern portion of the Dark Continent.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION FROM THE TRANSVAAL POINT OF VIEW

When two nations go to war over a question that has risen between them and thousands of lives are lost and millions of treasure expended, it follows as a matter of course that the question has two sides, and that the supporters of each believe they have the monopoly of right and justice. In her disputations with the Transvaal Republic, England brought forward a plentitude of arguments to justify her position. These were met with vigor, by the Boers, who were equally insistent, as was proven when they struck the first blow in defence of their principles.

Now, however deeply we may sympathize with the cause of either party, it is our duty as historians to be impartial and to give the views of each. Accordingly, we have selected as the Transvaal argument, the paper by Dr. F. V. Engelenburg, editor of the *Pretoria Volksstem*, which appeared in the *North American Review*, for October, 1899.

“South Africa is poor, extremely poor, in spite of its gold output of nearly two millions per month and its diamond export of five millions per year.

The disabilities from which South Africa suffers are manifold. The climate is glorious, the soil fertile, but the rainfall is uncertain and irregular. There are large tracts where rain falls only once every four or five years; and, where circumstances are more favorable, there are no natural reservoirs in which water can be stored,

or certainly none to any appreciable extent. The rivers, dry in summer time, become foaming torrents in the rainy season, and pour the whole of their waters into the sea. If the Witwatersrand were not situated alongside an extensive formation of dolomite, which absorbs rainwater, and stores it up like a sponge, it would have been utterly impossible for its unrivalled gold industry to attain its present condition, and the Boers to-day would be enjoying the rest and peace which they have ever longed for and deserve.

In addition to the dearth of water, South Africa has had to contend with many other drawbacks, resulting from its clumsy topographical configuration. On its northern confines, it is defenceless against the ravages of nature, which sweep like a whirlwind through the whole of the southern continent. From olden days, Africa has been known as the land of plagues and calamities. Rinderpest sweeps down from the north, and its latest attack, in 1896, brought ruin to both white and black; from the north, too, come the locusts and other noxious insects; from the north, come the hot tropical winds, bringing drought and warding off the beneficent rain; and from the north have many clouds arisen casting sinister shadows on this part of the continent. The clumsy configuration of South Africa, to which I have alluded, is the natural result of its plateau-form, with its abrupt descent to the Indian Ocean. The region is devoid of navigable rivers; the seacoast is an endless, monotonous line without fiords, without estuaries, without inlets of any kind, and therefore without harbors. The west coast is, moreover, separated from the interior by wastes of sand dunes; the east coast is unhealthy and haunted by the tsetse fly. No wonder that Phœnicians, Arabs and Portuguese, after their first experience of the country, had little inclination to colonize it, and to make it their home. The only

white men who manage to adapt themselves to the exigencies of the southern continent and build up a stalwart nation are the Afrikanders. They are destined to occupy the land forever, and to thrive here when diamonds and gold shall be things of the past.

And the blacks? I have already said that South Africa is poor, and has never possessed any large population, for the reason that it could not support it. The Bushmen live like beasts of prey in the wilderness; the Hottentots were subject to continuous decimation through sickness and famine. When the warlike Zulus, several centuries ago, came down along the east coast, they drove before them the few handfuls of human beings they encountered, like leaves before the wind, became master of the best sub-tropical portion of the eastern provinces, murdering and slaying like swarthy Huns, and pressed down to Natal. But although their social organization was higher than that of the nomadic tribes which they superseded, the poverty of South Africa constrained them to continue war amongst themselves. As soon as one Zulu tribe commenced to thrive and increase in wealth of cattle, it became necessary to obtain more land—in other words, to wage war against its neighbors; for South Africa was not able to give shelter to any dense population. That is why the Zulus could only manage to exist either by internecine strife or by occasional emigration, to the natural detriment of the weaker races. Both the legendary and documentary history of South Africa's blacks tends to prove that, when sickness had not to be reckoned with, war inevitably became the means of reducing the population of this region to its normal sustaining capacity. In recent years, the supremacy of the whites has materially affected internecine war as a limiting factor with regard to native population; but its place has been filled in some measure by disease and drink. There is no

doubt, however, that the black population is greatly on the increase, now that they are not permitted to indulge in war amongst themselves. But, at the same time, the importation of foreign "mealies" (maize)—the staple food of the Kaffirs—has also steadily increased; in 1897, the South African Republic imported nearly 36 million pounds of mealies; in 1898, the total importation had risen to over 44½ millions. There will come a day when the natives will cease to get work at the mines—when the mines will be exhausted. Then the importation of South American cereals will fall off, and South Africa will be expected to provide food for its own native population. Will it be equal to the task? The history of the past supplies an eloquent answer.

But with the industrious European colonist, schooled and disciplined by labor, can South Africa not produce what is necessary for his support? The white population of this part of the world amounts, in round numbers, to two millions—a very generous estimate—inhabiting a vast extent of country, larger than France, Germany and Italy together. This population is dependent on the outside world, not merely for the products of technical industry, but also for those of agriculture. We import potatoes and frozen meat from Australia, wood from Canada and Norway, eggs and butter from Europe, meal and mules from America. The sugar and tea grown in Natal cannot compete with the products of Mauritius and Ceylon, without the aid of protection. In order that these two millions of whites may be commercially accessible to the outside world, and that this huge import trade may be practicable, more than fifty million pounds sterling have been devoted to railway construction. Every week sees numerous steamers arriving from all parts of the world, laden with every conceivable kind of goods,

GENERAL JOUBERT, COMMANDER OF THE ARMY OF THE TRANSVAAL.

an extraordinarily superficial observer, to an unscrupulous company-promoter, or to an over-zealous emigration agent, whose salary is in proportion to the number of his victims.

The first European power which acquired a firm footing in the East Indies, the Portuguese, simply ignored South Africa. The Portuguese were succeeded by the Hollanders, who, not until after much hesitation and two futile attempts to conquer Mozambique, decided to take possession of Africa's southern extremity. And the English, in common with the Hollanders, never desired aught but the few harbors which South Africa possesses; the interior had no value in the eyes of the European maritime powers, which only looked to the opulent East. A clear illustration of this is furnished by the fact that, although possessing Walvisch Bay, England quietly acquiesced in Germany's protectorate over the hinterland; and another instance is to be found in the anxiety which England has recently shown to get hold of Delagoa Bay and Beira. The possession of these harbors would give to the British Empire control of the sea-way to the East, and to the English merchants such trade with the interior of South Africa as circumstances might permit. Neither the Dutch East India Company nor the British rulers bestirred themselves in any way, in connection with the steady expansion of the white colonists in the hinterland. And this interior colonization had barely acquired any importance before there arose both petty and material disturbances with the authority representing the purely European factor. This was not at all difficult to understand. The community at the Cape was composed of administrators and merchants who amassed considerable fortunes by means of the uninterrupted trade between Europe and India; the luxury which reigned at the foot of Table Mountain was

proverbial; all the comforts of European civilization could be enjoyed in sunny South Africa, untroubled by the shadows of the Old World. In vivid contrast to this luxurious life of ease, the burdens of the inland colonists were, indeed, grievous to be borne; rough, hardy pioneers of the wilderness, their life was one prolonged struggle with poverty, with ravaging beasts of prey, and with stealthy Bushmen and Hottentots. No wonder, therefore, that, little by little, a social gulf was created, that a marked dissimilarity of character was gradually developed between the up-to-date Cape patricians, treading the primrose paths of luxury, and the nomadic shepherds of the veldt, independent of aught save their fowling-pieces, and undisputed lords of the limitless plateau behind the mountains fringing the coast. No wonder, therefore, that the mere handful of conquerors of the Great Karroo had little love for the arbitrary rule of a Proconsul in Cape Town Castle, on behalf of an authority having its headquarters in Europe.

Under the Dutch East India Company friction often arose between the two white elements of the colony, and when the Cape fell into the hands of the British, in the beginning of the present century, the old antagonism continued to exist. I once heard it said that when Napoleon surrendered to the British in 1815, there was some talk of assigning to him, as a final resting-place, that pretty country estate of the early Dutch governors, not far from Cape Town, but that this idea had to be given up, on account of distrust of the feelings of the inland colonists, there being some fear that South Africa might see a repetition of the Elba incident. As long as the imperial authorities left the inland colonists to themselves, and only exercised a general repressive control, the relationship between the two white communities of South Africa

remained satisfactory, but as soon as the strings were pulled too suddenly from Europe, and the Cape authorities had to carry out a grasping, despotic policy, the two elements inevitably came to loggerheads. The best South African politicians—both British and Boer—are those who have frankly admitted that the political key to South Africa lies in an intelligent insight into the limit which should be allowed to Britain, Boer and Black. In other words, let each of the three fulfill the mission which nature has allotted to him, and then this much-vexed continent will enjoy the rest and peace of which it so urgently stands in need.

Is it necessary to give a résumé of the painful episodes which thronged upon one another in South Africa in the nineteenth century? The result of a hundred years of incompetency, weakness, vacillation and reckless greed, culminates to-day in the awful probability of an insensate strife between two hardy vital races, races unique by reason of their capacity for colonial expansion, races of similar origin and religion, races whose internal coöperation could have made this country, if not exceptionally prosperous, at least a particularly happy land, so that the dream of one of its most gifted children, Thomas Pringle, might have been fulfilled in gladsome measure:

“South Africa, thy future lies  
Bright 'fore my vision as thy skies.”

The first beneficent breathing-space which was granted to South Africa by the fatal British policy, was when, in 1852 and 1854—after numberless mistakes had been committed by the Imperial authorities, mistakes which no historian now attempts to deny—the South African Republic and the Free State were respectively left to their own resources, by solemn covenants with the

British Government—in other words, when the formal principle was adopted by England that the Briton should be “baas” of the coast and the Boer of the hinterland. The circumstances under which this took place had, in the meantime, become very grievous; the Boer States never had a fair start; the British maritime colonies levied enormous duties on goods consigned to the interior, and squeezed as much out of the Afrikander Republics as they possibly could. And thus, whilst the British merchants at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban waxed fat and wealthy, the Boers became more and more impoverished. But they were sustained in their struggle against poverty by the hardy spirit which was their peculiar heritage from their forefathers. And although the Free State and the Transvaal languished in their material development, and Natal and the Cape battened upon them, the Boers were satisfied, like the lean dog in the fable who did not envy the lot of his richer brother, because the latter had to wear a heavy collar of gold.

The generous policy of 1852 and 1854 was only too short-lived. The lucid moments of the Anglo-African politicians have been, alas! few and far between. First came the ruthless annexation of Basutoland by the British authorities, just at the moment when the Free State had clipped the wings of the Basutos and rendered further resistance futile. Then came the unrighteous annexation of Griqualand West, which suddenly found favor in the eyes of the British on account of the discovery of diamonds, and on which arose the Kimberley of to-day. This was followed by the annexation of the Transvaal by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, with all the bitter feeling that naturally resulted therefrom. And then the Sir Charles Warren expedition, by which the Boers were deprived of

Bechuanaland, because Mr. Rhodes—whose fortunate career at the Kimberley Diamond Fields enabled him to give the rein to his restless ambition—wanted to open up a pathway to the north, to the Rhodesia of to-day. Then came the establishment of the Chartered Company, followed by the notorious Jameson raid. Such petty incidents as the Keate Award, the Swaziland Muddle, the Annexation of Sambaan's Land, I will pass over, for brevity's sake. In short, the beneficent policy of 1852 and 1854, which was for a moment revived under the Gladstone Ministry of 1881—when the independence of the South African Republic was restored—has been the exception during the century now speeding to its close. British statesmen apparently failed to see that South Africa could only be served by giving each race the domain which destiny had prepared for it, viz., the Boer the hinterland and the Britisher the coast, together with the rights and obligations connected therewith. The welfare of the interior states has ever been the life-buoy to which the whole of South Africa has clung, in times of darkness and depression. Let the interior have a fair opportunity of thriving as well as the peculiar circumstances of the country permit, and the subjects of Queen Victoria will be able to enjoy the manifold pleasures of life without one drop of English soldiers' blood having to be spilled.

The immediate motive which prompted Sir Theophilus Shepstone's annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, was the commencement made by President Burgers of the long-cherished railway to Lourenço Marques. Natal and Cape Colony were not satisfied with squeezing the inland states by means of heavy duties, high postal tariffs, and enormous trade profits; they sought the complete economic dependency of the republics, by prohibiting all railway

traffic except through British ports. The selfishness of a commercial community knows no limit.

The second attempt to annex the South African Republic—with which the names of British politicians were connected—was not the result of a commercial policy, but it furnishes a striking illustration of the capitalism which has become such an important factor in South African policy, since the amalgamation of the diamond companies of Kimberley into one mighty body. The fact that to-day—whilst these lines are being written—this unhappy continent is on the eve of a *bellum omnium contra omnes*, can only be explained by the overwhelming influence acquired by certain “*nouveaux riches*”—whose social existence depends upon the Transvaal gold industry—among those who, on the British side, are shaping the fate of South Africa.

During the course of the present century, this part of the world has witnessed a variety of “agitations.” It was the negro-philist agitation which drove the Boers in bitterness of spirit beyond the boundaries of Cape Colony; and it was an administrative agitation which for a long time impeded their progress and threw all manner of obstacles in their way; it was the politics of the counting-house which suggested the annexation of the diamond fields and the annexation of the Transvaal; and it is a stock exchange organization which is pulling the strings of the movement of to-day. Of all these agitations, the last—that of the financiers—is the most despicable, the most ominous, the most dangerous, and the most unworthy of the British nation. The Boers can forgive Dr. Philip for his negro-philistic ardor, they can forgive Sir Harry Smith, Sir Philip Wodehouse, Sir Bartle Frere, and Sir Owen Lanyon for their excess of administrative zeal, but no

Afrikander will bow down at the bidding of a group of foreign speculators.

When the Witwatersrand gold fields were discovered, the Transvaalers had already had some experience of the advantages and disadvantages attendant on the possession of mineral wealth. In the early seventies, the opening up of the alluvial deposits at Pilgrim's Rest, in the northeast of the Republic, was the cause of considerable immigration. In the eighties, there was a rush to the diggings at Dekaap, of which Barberton became the center, the Afrikander element being strongly represented. From the very beginning, the law-makers of the Transvaal dealt very leniently with the miners, the vast majority of whom were foreigners. The Boers knew of the mineral wealth of their country at an early date, but they never felt constrained to exchange the quietude of their pastoral life for the feverish existence of the gold-seeker. The Boers have never endeavored to turn the presence of gold in their soil to practical account, and make it a direct source of national income; as, for instance, the Chartered Company has done, expropriating a large portion of the profits of the gold fields. An instance of this liberal legislation, more striking than a long array of figures, is furnished by the public lottery of gold claims—some of which are extremely valuable—which is now taking place, and in which both burghers and Uitlanders can participate without distinction.

The exceptionally generous legislation of the Boers with regard to mining matters was effected with the sole object of fostering agriculture; this has, however, only been realized in part, owing to the fact that the expansion of the mining industry gradually made native labor dear, and thus heavily handicapped the agriculturist.

**GENERAL SIR REDVERS BULLER AND STAFF GOING ON BOARD  
DUNOTTAR CASTLE, OCTOBER 14, 1899.**

**SIR GEORGE STEWART WHITE, V. C.**

The administration of the Boers in the days of Pilgrim's Rest and Barberton, compares very favorably with that of the diamond fields of Cape Colony. The Transvaalers were good-natured, but they had no inclination to be trifled with. In those days there was no talk of Uitlanders' grievances, nor even during the early years of Johannesburg. The Witwatersrand is not situated, like Pilgrim's Rest and Barberton, in an unfrequented part of the country, but it lies to the immediate south of Pretoria, between Potchefstroom and Heidelberg, in the very heart of the Boer States. Johannesburg sprang up with astonishing rapidity, and offered special attractions to the large number of South African adventurers, who, like Mr. Micawber, were only "waiting for something to turn up." From their farms in the Free State, from their wayside stores in Cape Colony, from their plantations in Natal, from their broker offices in the diamond fields, they gathered together—men of every type and every class, but united in their feverish thirst for wealth. The expectations of the most sanguine were realized; they reaped a rich harvest in the shape of large exchange profits, although many of their number knew practically nothing about mining or financial administration. Then came the inevitable collapse in 1889, which only spared the most fortunate; and the great majority of this strangely mixed community were gradually compelled to make room for more competent men from Europe and America. These brought brains and experience into their work, and placed the industry upon a more solid basis; but they also inoculated the Uitlanders with the *bacilli* of discord and revolution, much to the detriment of the shareholders across the sea.

The appearance of the present-day Uitlander—that is to say, the grievance-bearing or rather grievance-seeking stranger—dates

from the period when qualified experts satisfied themselves as to the uniquely favorable situation of the precious metal in Witwatersrand—from the time when wild speculation began to make room for a genuine exploitation of the mines. The preliminary period to which I refer above was the cause of an influx of immigrants into the Republic. They spread themselves over the face of the country, penetrating into the most outlying spots, in order to procure material for the flotation of mining companies. This period also saw the birth of the "Land and Estate" Companies, who generally bought up the most uninhabited or uninhabitable farms for speculative purposes. By reason of foreign ownership of large tracts of land, the argument is often advanced that an enormous portion of the South African Republic no longer belongs to the Boers. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that, whilst the Boer has been severely condemned for his slothfulness in matters agricultural, practically none of the land companies has ever devoted more than a few acres to the growing of crops. When the period of wild speculation suffered a collapse, the Uitlander no longer spread himself over the whole of the Republic. Henceforward, the Witwatersrand was the exclusive scene of his labors, and here he elected to pitch his tent. Outside the Rand, he confined himself to the ordinary occupations of the olden days—that of storekeeper for the folk of the few rustic centers, and bank manager, hotelkeeper, and clergyman in the solitary country towns.

After the crash of 1889, Johannesburg slowly became the Uitlander town *par excellence*. It deserves to be recorded that, as the output of gold began to show a continual increase, the "Uitlander question" acquired a proportionate magnitude. In every country where foreigners are to be found in appreciable numbers, there is

an Uitlander question. It exists in France, in regard to the Italians and Belgians living there; in Japan, in regard to the Americans and Britishers; in London, in regard to the Poles; in the Middle Ages the Jews were in many cases a powerful "Uitlander" element. During the last century, the Germans in Russia have been "Uitlanders," and, according to the Czechs and Hungarians, they are so in Austria to-day. But the Uitlander question in the South African Republic differs from the Uitlander question elsewhere, as it has been made the cause of an international dispute between two states of unequal strength. In its present form, the Uitlander question is only the mask of a financiers' plot, of a piece of Exchange jobbery. It has steadily kept pace with the gold output. In 1889, £1,500,000 was produced. In that year Johannesburg was horrified by a series of stealthy murders which were only explained as the handiwork of "Jack the Ripper." No one thought at that time, however, of saddling the Transvaal Government with responsibility for them, or of sending plaintive petitions to England as to the danger of life in the South African Republic! Everyone understood, then as now, that gold-fields offer peculiar attractions to questionable characters of all classes. In March, 1890, during a visit of President Kruger to the Golden City, the Transvaal flag was pulled down from the government buildings. It subsequently transpired that this was only the work of some drunken rough, and the mining and mercantile communities lost no time in expressing their disapproval of the incident. The realization of the practical value of the deep-level theory—in other words, the ultimate conviction as to the indisputable durability and wealth of the Witwatersrand gold-fields—has, in the meantime, become the signal for an agitation against the government and

the people of the South African Republic. From this period dates England's claim to suzerainty over the South African Republic and the paramount-powership in South Africa, of which hitherto no mention had ever been made. In 1894, the then High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, was present at some diamond-drill experiments at the Rand, which proved beyond dispute the continuous nature of the gold-bearing reef at a considerable depth, and at an important distance from the outcrop reef. During this visit, Sir Henry Loch made a promise to the mining magnate—as per letter of Mr. Lionel Phillips, then the Chairman of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines\*—to stir up the Transvaal Government on condition that the "Uitlander" agitation increased in intensity. The Transvaal Green Book provides instructive reading even for to-day; it contains extracts from private letters from Mr. Phillips to his London friends. On the 10th of June, 1894, he wrote to Mr. Beit:

"As to the franchise, I do not think many people care a fig about it."

On the 1st of July of the same year, he wrote to Mr. Wernher:

"Sir H. Loch (with whom I had two long private interviews alone) asked me some very pointed questions, such as what arms we had in Johannesburg, whether the population could hold the place for six days until help could arrive, etc., etc., and stated plainly that if there had been 3,000 rifles and ammunition here he would certainly have come over. He further informed me, in a significant way, that he had prolonged the Swaziland agreement for six months, and said he supposed in that time Johannesburg would be better prepared—as much as to say, if things are safer then we shall actively intervene."

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\* *Vide Transvaal Green Book, No. 2, of 1894.*

This conversation took place at Pretoria, where Sir Henry Loch, as the representative of Her Majesty's Government, was the honored guest of the Transvaal people! On the 15th of July of the same year, Mr. Phillips wrote to Mr. Beit:

"We don't want any row. Our trump card is a fund of £10,000 or £15,000 to improve the Volksraad. Unfortunately the gold companies have no secret service fund."

All this happened in 1894, when the gold output had already reached a total of nearly seven and three-fourths millions sterling. In 1895 it had risen to eight and one-half millions; the "trump card" had also risen and amounted to £120,000, with which sum the Reform movement at Johannesburg was partially financed, a movement which came to an untimely end at Doornkop.

In 1897 the inquiry by the official Industrial Commission took place, the result being a substantial lowering of railway tariffs and import dues. But the "grievances" still remained, and increased in 1897 in sympathy with the gold output, which had now reached the large figure of eleven and one-half millions. Still more "unbearable" were these "grievances" in 1898, during which year sixteen and one-fourth millions of gold was dug out of Transvaal soil. This was the year of the Edgar affair and of the Uitlander petition, and in the same year forty-five gold companies of the Rand (the share capital issued being £20,294,675) paid out in dividends no less than £5,089,785—an average of twenty-five per cent! The output for 1899 has already been estimated at twenty-two and one-half millions, and the number of dividend-paying companies increases every month.

In 1896, the rural population were visited by a series of grievous plagues—by rinderpest, by drought, by locusts, and by the dreaded

fever. While the Uitlanders of the Rand were reported to be groaning under the oppression of their Egyptian task-masters, and European shareholders were depicted as helpless victims of a corrupt Kruger régime, the Boers were "taking up arms against a sea of troubles" which threatened to overwhelm them, and of which we heard exceedingly little, either in the local papers or in the cable columns of the London press. Whilst thousands of Boer families saw the fruit of long years of toil plucked away by the hand of God in a single season, the campaign of libel on behalf of the Uitlanders was vigorously prosecuted with the help of money won from Transvaal soil by mining magnates, the princely munificence displayed by whom in London and other places outside South Africa was occasionally referred to in the local papers as a joyous chord between the "grievance" symphonies that were struck in the minor key.

I have little inclination to expatiate on the true character of the present movement against the Boers; but I do say that to support the latest type of agitation against the white population of the interior of South Africa is unworthy of the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race. The South African Republic is not without political blemishes; as in every other country, we have our administrative scandals, both great and small; we have our social and economic plague-spots, which must be made to disappear. Gold-fields never were fountains of pure morality, nor are they so in South Africa. Has one ever pictured the future of the most civilized country of the Old World if a second Johannesburg were to spring up in mushroom fashion? I do not wish to speak evil of the wire-pullers of the present agitation against the Afrikanders; but, surely, those persons whose princely palaces have been built

with Transvaal gold, and who cry out so loudly against our government, should be the last to throw stones against the Republic. The "oligarchy" at Pretoria—to use Mr. Chamberlain's recent expression—consists of barely a few dozen Boers; there is, therefore, strong evidence in favor of this "oligarchy" in the fact that it has been able to offer such prolonged resistance to the well-disposed and undoubtedly disinterested attempts of such gentlemen as Lionel Phillips to "improve" them from Johannesburg and London. Such an "oligarchy" is without a parallel in modern times. It forms a striking contrast to the worship of the golden calf on the Witwatersrand, from which Pretoria is only distant about three hours on horseback. Such an "oligarchy" deserves to be carefully preserved rather than destroyed, as we preserve from total extinction some rare plant or peculiar species of animal.

There are undoubtedly grievances in the South African Republic, but they are not the exclusive property of the Uitlanders; a discreet silence is observed with respect to the wrongs of the Transvaal burghers, and I do not feel it to be my task to dilate upon them now. But still they exist, although the absorbing selfishness of the mining magnates keeps back the light of day; the lust for gold stifles all generosity, compassion, mercy, brotherly love and respect for the rights of the weak. What Monomotapa was to the Phoenicians and Arabs, Witwatersrand is to our present gold-seekers, and to most of the Uitlanders—a temporary land of exile, which they only endure for the sake of the gold. Can we picture the wise King Solomon demanding the franchise for his subjects in the realms of the Queen of Sheba?

South Africa is poor; it will remain poor, in spite of its gold and its diamonds. It will never be able to pay back the cost of a

bitter strife, unless the gold-bedecked princes come forward with the treasure which they have wrung from the land. As long as the Boers allow the modern Phoenicians to dig the precious metals out of Transvaal soil without heavy impositions, and to have a free hand in the administration of the country and the government of the native population, it will be found that the best business policy will be to leave the Boers in undisturbed possession of their country, free to rule it by their own healthy instinct and according to the good old traditions of their forefathers, with their own language, their own rulers, their own aspirations—even with their own faults and prejudices.

It should not be forgotten that, from the earliest days of the gold-fields, the Uitlanders knew that the South African Republic was an "oligarchy;" they knew that the Boers were "illiterate," "stupid," "ignorant," and a good deal besides; they knew that a dynamite monopoly existed, and that President Kruger was a "hard nut to crack." Notwithstanding this knowledge the "Uitlanders" have flocked in by thousands, and foreign capital has been invested amounting to several hundreds of millions sterling. During the first five months of the present year, Transvaal gold and other companies were registered here with a combined capital of over £15,391,389. In July last—in the middle of the crisis—five new companies were registered with a capital of £1,159,000. And of all the Uitlanders only a section of the British subjects are genuinely dissatisfied. Notwithstanding that the "oppression" of the Transvaal "oligarchy" has been told and retold until the world has become sick and weary, immigrants are still pouring in from all quarters of the globe.

The Boers do not ask for mercy; they ask for justice. Those

DRAKENSBERG, ON THE TRANSVAAL BORDER, WHERE  
THE BOERS ARE IN LAAGER.

A BOER RECONNAISSANCE.

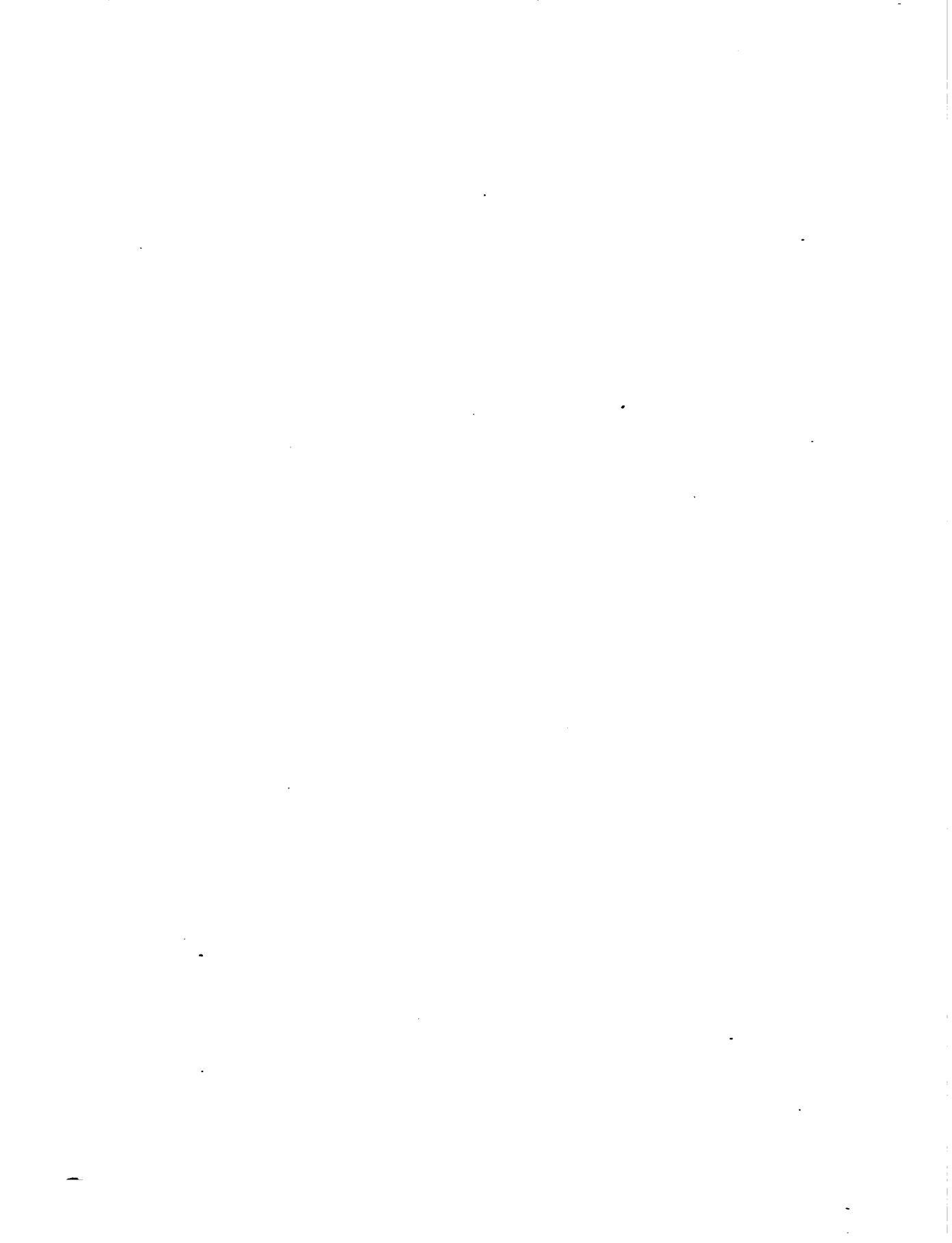
who keep up the unfair agitation against the South African Republic are the last men, however, to listen to the voice of righteousness, or to be guided by any noble impulse; political corruption is the seed they sow, and by their unexampled opportunities they feel confident of reaping their criminal harvest. Up to the present they have gathered only tears; a still more bitter time of reaping has yet to come. In the past the Boers have been able to fight against immensely superior odds. They feel that the final victory will be theirs; for they know they have right on their side.

Well would it be for the British nation if they could but realize the significance of those words of Russell Lowell:

“Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne,  
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown  
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.”

F. V. ENGELENBURG.

*Pretoria, August, 1899.*



## CHAPTER XVI

### THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION FROM THE ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW

Having given the Boer side of the question, we now submit the English point of view as presented by Mr. Edward Dicey in *The Nineteenth Century* for May, 1896, and entitled "Why South Africa Cannot Wait."

Why cannot South Africa wait? This is a question I hear often asked by persons who would be indignant at being called Little Englanders and whose sympathies are enlisted on the side of the British Imperial idea. That is the question I should like to answer, in as far as any solution of a complicated problem is possible within the limits of a single article. But before entering on the discussion of this subject, it may be well to explain what I understand by British South Africa. For practical purposes British South Africa means, to my thinking, that portion of the southern part of the Dark Continent in which Great Britain is the paramount power. This district forms a huge equilateral triangle, of which Cape Town is the apex, the parallel of the Zambesi the base, and the sea coast, washed by the Atlantic on the west and the Indian Ocean on the east, the sides. Included in this area are the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, the territories of the Chartered Company, Zululand, Pondoland, Khama's Country and a number of more or less independent native states, in all of which the British power is either directly or indirectly paramount. The only exceptions to British supremacy within the above region are the Portuguese

colonies on the east coast and the German colony of Damaraland on the west.

How far these colonies are likely to remain in their present hands for any length of time is a moot question; but this much is certain, that if ever there should be a South African Confederation under the British flag, the Portuguese and German colonies must come in fact, if not in name, within the sphere of British interest. I am aware that ardent advocates of the Imperialist idea would repudiate the notion of confining British expansion in South Africa within such narrow limits. I know that the Chartered Company has already extended its dominions north of the Zambesi river. I know, too, that Great Britain claims vast areas outside of the Chartered Company's most northern outpost, as coming within the sphere of British influence. I am by no means prepared to assert that these aspirations can never be realized. But I do say that in as far as the present generation is concerned, our policy in South Africa may safely be confined to the creation of a British Dominion of South Africa to the south of the parallel of the Zambesi. No wise man who realizes the extraordinary progress made by South Africa during the last quarter of the century will deny the possibility of vast regions lying far away to the north of the Zambesi coming ultimately under British authority. No prudent man, however, will, as I hold, trouble himself much for the present about our possessions in Central and Tropical Africa, until the work of consolidating the area south of the Zambesi into a united state has been definitely accomplished. In speaking, therefore, of South Africa, my remarks are confined to the area in which British influence is either already supreme or is bound to become supreme within the lifetime of the present generation.

My argument is based, I may state here, on two assumptions, which will not, I think, be disputed by anybody acquainted with South Africa. The first assumption is that, in some form or other, the various colonies, republics, and states of South Africa are destined by the logic of facts to form a common confederation at no distant date. In support of this assumption I need only say that the interests, aspirations and conditions which tell in favor of union are infinitely stronger than those which tell against it. My second assumption is, that in every such confederation supremacy as between the British and the Dutch elements must ultimately remain with the former—not with the latter. This conclusion is based, not on any individual preference for my own people, but on a simple appreciation of the two elements out of which the dominant white race in South Africa is composed. The Boers as a body are unprogressive, unadventurous, averse to change. The British are progressive, active, and eager for adventure. The Boers are hunters and cattle owners. The British are miners and traders. The British have the forces of education, science and capital on their side; the Boers, on the other hand, decline to avail themselves of the resources by which wealth is accumulated and through which the power conferred by wealth is acquired. The Boers receive no reinforcement by emigration; the British population is increasing daily by the constant influx of new batches of emigrants. Given these conditions and the result is certain. In virtue of nature's law of the 'survival of the fittest,' the British are bound to distance the Boers in the future as they have done in the past. In this world, as at present constituted, the weaker is certain in the long run to go to the wall. Just as in the Southern States in America the Yankee is shunting out the Southern planter, so the

Briton is compelled by the same manifest destiny to oust the Boer. I hold, therefore, that no matter what one's respect may be for the individual fine qualities of the Boer population, one can entertain no doubt that in the end the race that goes ahead must get the better of the race that stays at home.

I may be told that if my assumptions are true I have demonstrated the absence of any necessity for the immediate solution of the Boer-Uitlander controversy. If confederation is, as I hold, a mere question of time, and if, in any such confederation, the British element must necessarily be supreme, I may fairly be asked why it should be advisable to expedite the regular operation of natural causes. If I were an Afrikander, born and bred, I might feel it difficult to answer this question. In common parlance, an Afrikander means a settler in South Africa of Dutch extraction; but in theory it means any man of white parentage who has been born in South Africa, who has spent his life there, and who intends to make it the home of himself and his family. There are thousands already of British Afrikanders, in the above sense of the word, living in South Africa, and every year their number is increasing relatively as well as positively. No doubt these British Afrikanders are bound to the mother country by a variety of ties, both sentimental and material; while their antagonism to the Boer element renders them keenly alive to the advantages of the Imperial connection. But no British Afrikander, even if politically he found his advantage in standing well with the Boers, ever entertains any serious doubt that the ultimate triumph of the British element in South Africa is a foregone conclusion. This being so, though he might prefer a forcible settlement of the conflict between the Boers and the Uitlanders, he might possibly be content to bide his

time, supposing Great Britain should decline to take any action on behalf of her own people.

Still, I am convinced the vast majority of the British Afrikanders have a sincere and heartfelt desire to uphold their connection with the British Empire. Even if a confederation could be arranged at once, a matter to which the British colonists, as a class, whose interests are most closely affected by the absence of any federal union, attach more importance than the Boers, they would, I believe, hesitate to-day about joining such a confederation, unless it was to be placed under the sovereignty of England. This state of sentiment might, however, become easily changed if Great Britain should not be prepared to uphold the demand of the British colonists throughout South Africa for the treatment of British settlers under Dutch government on the same footing of equality as that which is accorded the Boer colonists under British government. The real issue at stake, to my mind, is not, whether under a confederated South Africa the British element should be dominant, but whether the confederation should form a province occupying the position of the Dominion of Canada, or whether it should be an independent republic—an African United States. Holding, as I do, and as I think all Imperialists hold also, that the latter contingency would be a grievous, if not a fatal, blow to the British Empire, I think it well to point out that inaction on our part at the present crisis may imperil the realization of the Imperialist idea. Of course, to persons who think that the maintenance of our Imperial position is a doubtful advantage to England, and a still more doubtful benefit to the outside world, my argument has no chance of appealing. It is only addressed to those who agree with me in thinking that the extension, development and consolidation of the British Empire

are things to be desired, not only in the interest of Great Britain, but in that of humanity at large.

The position stands thus: Between the different states which compose South Africa, there are no natural frontiers. The general configuration of the country is marvelously, I might almost say, monotonously, uniform. The language is, generally speaking, the same throughout; English in the towns, Taal or Boer Dutch in the farmhouses, with which the surface of the Veldt is sparsely dotted over. There is little or nothing beyond climatic differences and varieties of vegetation to show a traveler that he has passed from one South African state into another. There is one feature common to them all, and that is the presence of a small white population forming the dominant ruling class in the midst of a black population, overwhelmingly superior in number, but subordinate to the white. The status of the natives, politically, economically and socially, varies considerably in the different communities, but in one and all, they are strangers amidst a strange people, strangers whose services are indispensable, but whose existence is regarded as a possible source of peril to the white settlers, no matter what their individual nationality may be. In South Africa there are, of course, local conflicts of interest, such as those which exist between the western and eastern provinces of the Cape Colony. But, in the main, the material interests of the white communities in South Africa, from the Zambesi down to Table Mountain, are infinitely more homogeneous than those of any other area of equal size with which I am acquainted. Under these circumstances it is intelligible enough that the idea of a confederation of states under which there should be a common tariff, a common administration, a common legislation, and a common association for the protection of public

BOER ARTILLERY GOING TO THE FRONT.

**A MIXED BODY OF BOERS, WILD WITH EXCITEMENT, ENTERING JOHANNESBURG.**

safety and for the development of material resources, should have presented itself to the mind of all Afrikanders who are interested in the welfare of their adopted country. The obstacle which has hitherto stood in the way of this idea being carried out in practice, has been the jealousy between the Boer and the British elements in South Africa. Within the last quarter of a century these jealousies have been very largely removed; and it is not too much to say that the establishment of a South African confederation would, before now, have become an accomplished fact if it had not been for the bitter antagonism of the Transvaal Boers.

I have no intention of entering in this paper into any discussion of the rights and wrongs of the historic controversy between the original Dutch settlers and the English colonists. There is a good deal to be said on both sides. But even if I were prepared to admit, which I certainly am not, that in the story of South Africa the English have throughout played the part of the wolf, and the Boers that of the lamb, such an admission would in no wise affect my contention that the two races have got to live together side by side. Owing to the material conditions I have alluded to, South Africa never has been and never can be mapped out into separate areas occupied respectively by English and Dutch settlers. Wherever the Boer settles the Uitlander is found and *vice versa*. The joint partnership between Boers and Uitlanders in the occupation of South Africa is therefore indissoluble. There are but two possible solutions of the controversy which has been carried on with fluctuating fortunes ever since Holland first ceded the Cape Colony to Great Britain. Either one of the two races must reduce the other to subjection, or the two must form one common white community in which both Dutch and English colonists possess equal rights and equal

privileges. The former is the solution which finds favor with the Transvaal, the latter is the solution accepted, with this solitary exception, by the whole of South Africa.

In the British possessions the policy of the government has been directed, in the main, to the reconciliation of the Boers to the British rule, by placing them on a footing of absolute equality with the British colonists. In the Cape, in Natal, and in Rhodesia the Boers enjoyed the same political rights, the same legal status, the same commercial, agricultural and industrial advantages as their British fellow citizens. There are various questions affecting South African interests, such as that of the treatment of the natives, which are regarded from a different standpoint by the two nationalities; and these differences are no doubt intensified by the extreme conservatism of customs, the tenacity of tradition and the stolid contempt of innovations of any kind which characterize the Boers as a body. Unless it may be deemed a grievance that the policy of a state should be directed by the ideas which rightly or wrongly find favor with the majority, no Boer as Boer has any political grievance to complain of at the hands of any British South African government. The Boers, moreover, have full power under British rule of redressing by constitutional action, any grievance of which they complain. In the Cape the Boers return thirty-two members out of seventy-five to the Parliament; they have the right of taking part in debate in their own language; they make and unmake ministries, they can resist, and as a rule they can defeat, any measure of which they disapprove. They enjoy absolutely equality before the law. They are equally eligible with Englishmen to all legal and official posts, and if the proportion of Dutch public servants is small compared with that of English, this is simply due to

the fact that the Boers, as a class, do not possess the education required for official duties; while even if they possess the requisite education, they have, as a rule, little taste for public life. In Rhodesia the Dutch form a comparative small minority. Yet here, as in the Cape, the Boers possess absolute political, legal and social equality with the English. The result has been that in the colonies under British administration, the Boers have become, or perhaps, to speak more accurately, are fast becoming reconciled to British rule. In the Cape especially, the Boers have largely abandoned their attitude of stubborn isolation. Constant and friendly intercourse with their British neighbors has greatly modified their anti-English prejudices. Intermarriages between the two races are matters of not uncommon occurrence. The Dutch, too, have learned to recognize the advantages of honest government, official integrity, political freedom and legal justice, which they enjoy beneath the British flag; while, under the administration of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, they found that by coöoperating with the English members of the Parliament they could obtain reasonable concessions to Boer ideas and convictions. The net result is, that in Cape Colony, Boers and British are rapidly becoming consolidated into a homogeneous political commonwealth. In Natal under constitutional government, which was established only a couple of years ago, British and Boers have been placed on exactly the same footing, and have been accorded the same rights and privileges. In the Orange Free State a similar policy has been pursued. This State is probably the most purely Boer community in the whole of South Africa. Possessing, as it does, no great wealth either agricultural, mineral or industrial, it has never been a favorite resort of British immigrants. Still, the English residents in the Orange

Free State are allowed substantially the same rights as those claimed by the born subjects of the Republic. In consequence the relations between Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town have been for many years past of a most amicable and satisfactory character.

It is the Transvaal and the Transvaal alone that has hitherto opposed the unification of South Africa upon the basis of political equality between the Boers and the British. The conduct of the South African Republic has been from the outset deliberately and persistently hostile to the policy of legal equality for all citizens of European race. This hostility is all the more indefensible from the fact that the South African Republic, to speak the plain truth, owes its existence to the direct action of the British Government. I, for one, am not going to endorse the futile theory that Great Britain, after having first annexed the Transvaal, gave it back to the Boers out of a sentiment of magnanimity. That sort of twaddle may have been good enough to remove the compunction of Mr. Gladstone and his followers in 1881 at having to consent to a creditable surrender on the morrow of a disgraceful defeat. But it is not good enough to satisfy the demands of historical truth. England, at the instigation of the Government of the day gave up the Transvaal because the resistance of the Boers had proved more formidable than we had anticipated, because South African wars were unpopular at that period with the British public, and because the game of reconquering the Transvaal after Majuba was not deemed to be worth the candle. But at the time when the treaty of Pretoria was concluded there was no possible doubt, either at home or in South Africa, that if England had been so minded it lay easily within her power to have restored British rule over the

Transvaal. It is, however, just to add that one of the main considerations, though not, as I hold, the principal consideration, which weighed with Englishmen in the mother country in favor of surrendering the Transvaal, was a genuine and honest dislike to employing our overwhelming military supremacy for the suppression of a petty state which had fought gallantly for its independence. Moreover, it was commonly, and justly, believed in England that the Treaty of Pretoria guaranteed Englishmen equal rights under a South African Republic with those enjoyed by Boers under British rule in South Africa, and also secured the suzerainty of Great Britain. I am not arguing now as to the legal interpretation of the Treaty of Pretoria in its original form or as it was subsequently modified by the Convention of 1884. All I assert is that at the time we surrendered the Transvaal our government did so under the belief that the substitution of Boer for British rule would not act to the detriment of British subjects resident in the Transvaal. I think it possible that the representations made at the time by the Boer authorities as to their intention to deal fairly and liberally with the British settlers were made in good faith. It must not be forgotten that in 1881 the mineral wealth of the Transvaal was still unknown and unsuspected, that Johannesburg was still an obscure hamlet of some dozen houses, that the Uitlander population was then extremely limited in numbers, and that recent events had made the Transvaal an even less attractive residence for British settlers than it had proved hitherto.

If the gold discoveries had been made at the Rand when our troops were defeated at Majuba, not even a Gladstonian Government would have consented to the cession of the Transvaal. For several years after the cession the material prosperity of the

Transvaal declined, and the financial position of the South African Republic became so desperate that the administration, rough and rudimentary as it was, was almost paralyzed for lack of funds. The discovery of Witwatersrand gold mines altered the whole complexion of affairs. I have seen it stated that the permission granted by the Republic to British capitalists and British miners to prospect and develop the gold mines at their own cost and risk is proof of the liberality of the Transvaal Government. No claim could be more absurd. The Treaty of Pretoria, whatever else it may have left obscure, laid down clearly that British subjects had the same rights as the Boers to trade and carry on business within the territory of the Republic. The Boers were utterly incapable of working the mines, while their working was indispensable to the rescue of the Republic from financial ruin. The Government of Pretoria had, therefore, no option except to allow Uitlanders to work the mines on the same terms as those conceded to Boer miners by the constitution. Moreover, in the early days of the Rand, the prospects of mining enterprise were too remote and too uncertain for mining concessions to obtain a ready market. It was only after the mining industry had been for some time in operation that the Uitlanders began to pour into the Transvaal. Yet, even before that date, President Kruger had already displayed the animosity towards the British element which has persistently characterized his whole subsequent policy.

By the Grundvet, or Constitution of 1855, all white aliens were declared entitled under the Republic to enjoy equal rights with the Boers on purchasing the right to citizenship. In 1876, when the Republic was urgently in need of fresh immigrants, this condition was further modified. Naturalized citizens were declared

entitled to equal rights with native-born citizens, and naturalization was granted as a matter of right, not of favor, to any white man who had either acquired real estate under the Republic or had resided for one year within its jurisdiction. This was the law of the state when England restored the independence of the Transvaal by the Treaty of Pretoria. The whole spirit, if not the letter, of the treaty, is inconsistent with the subsequent endeavors of the Transvaal Government to exclude British immigrants from the rights of citizenship. But it appears that, with the fatuous folly which signalized the action in South Africa of the British Government of the day, no distinct provision was made in the treaty for securing to British settlers in the South African Republic the political rights to which they were entitled under the then existing constitution. Only one year after our cession of the Transvaal the Volksraad passed a law enacting that white aliens could only obtain naturalization after five years' residence in the country. This law remained in force till 1890. By that time the hamlet of Johannesburg had been converted by British labor, British energy, and British capital into one of the largest cities of South Africa, with a population closely approximating in numbers to the whole Boer population of the Republic. By this time, too, it had become obvious that the mining enterprise of the Rand was certain to be a permanent industry, not, as many people imagined at the outset, a mere flash in the pan. It became clear, too, that this industry would have to be carried on, as it had been initiated, by British enterprise, and that therefore the British resident population was likely to form an important and permanent factor in the Transvaal. Thereupon President Kruger induced the Volksraad to enact laws virtually disfranchising the Uitlanders, nine-tenths of whom

were then, and probably are still, British subjects. By the laws then enacted any white alien who desires to obtain political rights in the Transvaal must first enroll himself on the list of the Feld Cornet of his district, and thereby render himself liable to be called out for military service. Only after two years' enrollment is he entitled to apply for naturalization, provided always, that throughout the whole of this period he has resided continuously in the Transvaal. He has then to take the oath of allegiance to the Republic, an act whereby he forfeits the citizenship of his own country, without obtaining the citizenship of his adopted country, until such time as letters of naturalization have been issued. These letters cannot, by the law, be issued for ten years after the oath of allegiance has been taken. Even when this long period has elapsed and all the requisite conditions have been duly complied with, the Uitlander who desires to become an enfranchised burgher or, in other words, to obtain a vote, cannot claim enfranchisement as a matter of right unless two-thirds of the existing electorate in his district, the overwhelming majority of whom under the present franchise are and must be Boers, express an opinion that he is a fit and proper person to enjoy the same political rights as they do themselves. It might have been thought that these regulations were strict enough to hinder any considerable number of Uitlanders from seeking to become citizens of the Republic. It seems, however, to have struck the President and his advisers that their policy of exclusion might possibly be frustrated by the efflux of time. As life in the mining centers became organized the Uitlanders in the Rand made homes for themselves, married or sent for their wives from home, and got families, the children being, therefore, Transvaal born and Transvaal bred. By

THE FIRST ENGLISH PRISONERS.

**THE CHARGE OF THE GORDONS AT ELANDS LAAGTE.**

the custom of civilized nations, children born of foreign parents domiciled in an independent state are entitled, on attaining their majority, to decide whether they prefer the nationality of the land of their birth to that of their parents. If this custom, which approximates to an article of international law, in as far as international law can be said to have any real existence, had been observed in the South African Republic, there would have been already a considerable number of children born of British parents in the Transvaal who would soon be entitled to claim citizenship in the land of their birth; while in the course of a few years the adult males in the Transvaal born of Uitlander parents must have inevitably outnumbered those of Boer descent. To avert this contingency the Volksraad, at President Kruger's instigation, passed a law in 1894 decreeing that children of alien parentage, even though born and bred in the Transvaal, could have no claim to citizenship in respect of their birth on Transvaal soil, unless their fathers had taken the oath of allegiance to the Republic prior to their birth. Under the restrictions I have enumerated Uitlanders in the Transvaal have now little or no inducement in as far as they themselves are concerned, to transfer their allegiance. The practical result, therefore, has been, and was intended to be, to hinder, not only British or other aliens resident in the Transvaal from obtaining citizenship, but to debar their children from obtaining their rights as white men born in the Transvaal. To add insult to injury the Uitlanders were, in the same year, accorded the barren privilege of taking part, under many restrictions, in the elections to the so-called Second Volksraad, a sort of debating society which has as little influence over the First Volksraad as the Oxford Union has over the legislation of the House of Commons.

Thus, from the first days of the resuscitated Republic it became obvious to all who studied the question, that the rulers of the Transvaal intended to keep all political representation as an absolute monopoly of the Boers. It may be said that the Uitlanders ought, by rights, to have realized this fact before they settled themselves within the territory of the Republic. But in the early days of the gold fever the Uitlanders had little or no ground for suspicion. They were welcomed by the Transvaal authorities under the expectation, which proved fully justified, that their services would rescue the Republic from an impending financial catastrophe, and they were assured that the government would facilitate in every way the free exercise of their industry. During the first two or three years the relations between the mining community and the Government of Pretoria were fairly harmonious, and if the same relations had continued there would, I fancy, have been for a considerable time to come, no serious popular agitation for political reform. Various causes account for the apathy displayed in the early days by the Uitlanders in asserting their claim to political equality with the Boers. In the first flush of the gold fever every Uitlander who entered the Transvaal in connection with mining enterprises imagined he was about to realize a fortune in no time. Men were too busy gold hunting to think of their personal comforts, still less of their political rights. It was only as the truth dawned upon the miners that the great mass of immigrants would have to be contented with a moderate competence earned by long years of constant toil, that they began to think of settling themselves permanently in the Transvaal. Then, too, it is difficult for anyone who did not know the Rand in its comparative infancy, to understand the utter distrust of the home government which prevailed in those days

among all classes of the mining world. During my sojourn there, the universal sentiment seemed to me to be that, bad as the rule of Pretoria might be, it was in any case better for the Rand than that of Downing Street. The idea that England, which had capitulated after the defeat of Majuba, and which had thrown away the richest province of her empire with as little thought or care as if it had been a worn-out glove, would ever interfere on behalf of British interests in the Transvaal, would, in those days, have been scouted as absurd by the Uitlanders of Johannesburg. This being so, it is not to be wondered at if, before Cecil Rhodes had become prominent in public life, and had restored the credit of Great Britain in South Africa by his 'forward policy,' the British settlers in the Transvaal should have acquiesced in the virtual suspension of their political rights.

What, then, brought about the Uitlanders' demand for political enfranchisement? I should answer unhesitatingly, the action of the Boer Government and especially of President Kruger. It is a very common impression in England that the Boers of the Transvaal are a primitive, Arcadian race, utterly indifferent to pecuniary considerations, and caring for nothing beyond the right to live out their lives after their own fashion. The Boers, in reality, are peasant farmers with all the virtues and all the failings of their class. Simple in their habits, frugal in their expenditure, narrow and almost sordid in their tastes and customs, they have no desire for luxury or for social advancement. On the other hand, they have all the peasant's instinct for money making; the peasant's greed of solid coin which can be handled and hoarded. Owing to their ignorance they often get cheated, but in all dealings within their competence they are good hands at making a hard bargain, keen

and not over scrupulous chapmen of their own wares. They do not understand credit, they distrust checks and bills and banknotes; but for golden sovereigns they are willing and anxious, as hundreds of thousands of British speculators know to their cost, to sell their material possessions at exorbitant prices. It is true that the Boers make little use or display of the wealth thus acquired. But with them, as with the rest of mankind, the mere possession of wealth led to the craving for more; and this craving naturally made itself most manifest at the seat of government. As soon as the Transvaal came to be regarded as a sort of Tom Tidler's ground, a number of nondescript adventurers collected at Pretoria, not only from all parts of South Africa, but from all parts of Europe. These adventurers soon got into intimate relations with the Hollanders, or Dutch officials of European birth, by whom the work of administration has to be conducted in the Transvaal, owing to the utter incapacity of the Boers as a body, for any work requiring education and knowledge of business. There was thus formed a sort of ring, which obtained the ear of the President, and through him the support of his ministers and of the Volksraad. When once the gold mining industry had become permanently established upon a paying footing by British enterprise and British capital, the ring pointed out to their associates at Pretoria, the possibility of making money by bringing official pressure to bear so as to divert the profits of the mines from the pockets of the Uitlander into those of the Boer Government and its friends. I am not discussing now the relative financial morality of Pretoria as compared with that of Johannesburg. It may have been a case of diamond cut diamond. All I can contend is that the diamond which is being cut, naturally and reasonably, objects to the process of cutting.

How far President Kruger was fully cognizant of the nature of the various transactions to which he gave his personal and public sanction and support, or how far he participated directly in the profits of these transactions, is a matter on which I do not desire to express any opinion. I think it probable that the Pretoria ring played upon his intense antipathy to the English, and led him to believe that by rendering the production of gold less profitable for the Uitlanders than it would have been otherwise, he was diminishing the danger of their obtaining political power, a thing which, as he was well aware, must prove fatal to his own supremacy. This much, however, is certain, that from the time the Pretoria ring came into active existence the policy of the Transvaal Government became also distinctly hostile to the mining interests.

The main requisites for working the mines at a profit, are a plentiful and regular supply of native labor, a moderate cost of livelihood for all persons employed at the mine, and facilities of procuring the materials needed for mining purposes at reasonable rates. Either from ignorance or from deliberate intent, the action of President Kruger's Government has been directed with the apparent object of artificially increasing the cost of mining. One concession after another has been granted to relatives, friends, or supporters of the government; all of them establishing monopolies in the supply of articles in general use by the mining community. As in the case of all monopolies, inferior articles have been supplied at extravagant rates. To cite a few examples out of many, a monopoly has been given for the supply of dynamite, by which the mines are calculated to sustain a loss of £600,000 a year; again, the right of manufacturing spirits within the Transvaal has been conceded to a single firm, which makes some £100,000 annually out

of the monopoly. With the object of favoring holders of these and similar concessions, excessive and almost prohibitive duties have been placed on the importations from abroad of the articles which they alone are entitled to produce within the territory of the Republic. A monopoly of railway construction has also been accorded to a Dutch company, in which the president and his friends are largely interested; and, as a result of this monopoly, not only has railway communication with the Transvaal been retarded for years, but the lines constructed from the Cape and Natal have been precluded from competing on fair terms with the Delagoa Bay Line, which enjoys the special patronage of the government. In consequence, the cost of transporting machinery and all other imported articles from the seaports is artificially enhanced to an extravagant extent. Again, every difficulty has been placed in the way of the mines obtaining a regular and efficient supply of native labor. The natives are willing and anxious to obtain employment at the mines, as the prices paid by the companies vary from 25s. to 30s. a week, whereas the wages paid by the Boers for agricultural labors do not exceed, at the best of times, 10s. to 20s. a month. The natives, however, are deterred from coming to the mines by the knowledge that when they have completed their term of contract and are returning home with their wages, they are liable to be mulcted of their earnings on one pretense or another by the local Boer authorities of the district through which they have to pass. Moreover, an impression prevails amidst the natives that the Boers do not look with favor on their taking service with the miners; and this impression, whether founded or unfounded, acting on the minds of a timid and oppressed race, is sufficient to check the free supply of native labor. Representations on this

subject have been frequently made to the government, but have met with no response. The value, too, of native labor, even when procured at the mines at extravagant rates, is materially diminished by the habit of intoxication, so prevalent amidst the natives whenever they have any money in their pockets. The mining companies, in their own interest, do all they possibly can to promote temperance among their workmen; but their efforts are baffled by the action of the government in granting canteen licences right and left in close proximity to the works. The manager of one single mine reported recently: 'We have in our employ about 1,500 natives; on an average 375 of these are daily unfit to enter the mines through the vile liquor which they have every facility for obtaining.' It may be judged from this instance how heavy a total loss is sustained by the mines owing to the absence of any regulation in the liquor traffic. Repeated remonstrances have been addressed to Pretoria about the indiscriminate issue of liquor licences, but hitherto they have been completely in vain.

I might quote any number of similar grievances. Taken one by one they may not seem unbearable. But taken collectively, as part and parcel of a deliberate policy, they constitute a formidable burden on the mining industry. The evils complained of come home, it should be remembered, to every man, woman and child of Uitlander race in the Transvaal. The popular resentment caused by this oppressive and exorbitant taxation is increased by the knowledge that the Transvaal Government, thanks to the Uitlanders, has no excuse for raising money for purposes of revenue, and that the money thus unnecessarily extracted is employed for objects of which the Uitlanders most justly disapprove, such as the erection of forts at Pretoria and Johannesburg, and the purchase of cannon,

guns and ammunition, for which there is no conceivable use, except that of coercing the Uitlanders into subjection. Long since the Uitlanders had exhausted all the means by which their grievances could be redressed under the existing régime. They had appealed to the President, they had appealed to the Volksraad, they had appealed to the courts of law, and in every case their appeals had been dismissed with empty words, if not with actual contumely. Unwillingly they came to the conclusion that the only chance of getting their practical grievances redressed lay in obtaining the political rights to which they were justly entitled.

I hear it stated constantly that if the Uitlanders had only waited they would have got what they wanted, through the gradual increase of their numbers, their wealth and their influence. Their answer to such a statement is that they had waited patiently for some ten years, that during this decade they had increased in numbers, wealth and influence at a rate they were never likely to surpass in future, and yet that their position at the close of this period of patient waiting had become worse than it was at the outset. They allege, further, that the increase of their numbers, the growth of their industry, and the extension of their influence, had alarmed the President and the Volksraad, and that in view of this alarm the government of Pretoria had been negotiating underhand with foreign powers in order to obtain their assistance in crushing the Uitlander community before it became too powerful to be crushed at all. The exact character of the communications which undoubtedly took place between Pretoria, Berlin, Amsterdam and Paris, is still unknown, but there can be no doubt that these communications contemplated the introduction of a continental element into the Transvaal to be employed as a

STATIONSTOWN—HEADQUARTERS OF THE CAPE SQUADRON.

**BOERS DESTROYING NATAL RAILWAY TRACK.**

counterpoint to the British element. It is obvious that this policy has not yet been abandoned, and that the object of President Kruger's persistent efforts is to get the Convention of 1884 annulled or modified so as to enable the Republic to do openly what it has hitherto done secretly, that is, to enter into arrangements with some European power strong enough to assist the Transvaal in undermining the hold which the British have acquired by their connection with the mining interests. Under these circumstances I fail to see how the Uitlanders can be blamed for having taken up arms in order to obtain the political rights essential, not only to their self-respect, but to the security of their lives and the safety of their property. In every village of the United States speeches are delivered on Independence Day, lauding the heroism of the founders of the Republic for having rebelled against the tyranny of poor George the Third. Yet the grievances which the American colonists sustained at the hands of the mother country, and for whose redress they rose in insurrection, are utterly insignificant compared with the exactions which our British fellow countrymen have undergone for years, owing to the action of the Boer Government. I quite admit that the American insurrection succeeded, and that the Uitlander insurrection has failed. But the causes of insurrection are independent of its actual result; and the grievances of which the Uitlanders have just cause to complain are the same to-day as they were before Dr. Jameson crossed the frontier, and before the inhabitants of Johannesburg surrendered to the Boers, in obedience to the commands of the Queen's representatives, and on the faith of pledges given by these representatives that if they gave up their arms the influence of Great Britain would be exerted to secure the removal of their wrongs.

The question, therefore, which has to be considered by the British public is, first, to what extent England is bound to uphold the cause of the Uitlanders as her own; and secondly, supposing this to be her duty, by what means she can carry out the object she has in view. What we ought to do is to my mind simple and clear enough. Not only as a paramount power in South Africa, not only as the natural protector of Englishmen abroad as well as at home, but as the spokesman of the British Empire, England ought now to insist upon the Treaty of Pretoria being observed in the spirit as well as in the letter, and upon the Uitlanders being placed in a position of equality with the Boers. As to the precise mode and as to the exact period in which this object can be best effected, I should allow considerable latitude to the South African Republic. Recent occurrences have undoubtedly deprived us, to some extent, to the right of employing as much direct pressure as we should otherwise have been justified in exerting. But when every reasonable concession has been made to the objections and even the prejudices of the Transvaal, we should let the Government of Pretoria clearly understand that the Uitlanders are entitled to the political rights of freemen; that this claim must be accorded without any unnecessary delay; and that any attempt to evade this obligation will be treated by England as a breach of faith on the part of the South African Republic, as a violation of the fundamental pact entered into by her as the price of the recovery of her independence. If the resources of diplomatic skill can render the presentation of such an ultimatum to the Boer Government less offensive than it would be otherwise, let the resources be called into play and given due time to operate. But, whatever else is said and done, no doubt must be left on the Boer mind that this

demand on the part of England is of the nature of an ultimatum; a demand, compliance with which, if moral persuasion should fail, must, in the last resort, be enforced by arms.

It would, indeed, be folly to shut our eyes to the fact that if Great Britain takes up the cause of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal, she may conceivably be called upon to face the contingency of war. There are certain considerations which render such a contingency less utterly improbable than it would be between any two other powers so strangely out of proportion in respect of their relative strength. A considerable section of the Transvaal Boers honestly believe that on account of the orthodoxy of their rigid Calvinist faith they are God's chosen people, and that the Almighty will put forth His power, as they hold He did at Majuba, to save His people from the attacks of their enemies. A still more considerable section amidst the Transvaal Boers believe honestly, I am ashamed to say, that the English troops are afraid to meet them in battle, and that after the repulses we have received in the past, we have not the pluck left to fight again. Neither of these beliefs, however, can be entertained with any conviction by President Kruger or the advisers by whom he is surrounded. On the other hand there is a deep-rooted conviction in what may be called the Governmental circles of the Republic—a conviction based upon a quarter of a century's experience of our vacillating and invertebrate policy in South Africa—that the British Government cannot seriously contemplate a second war with the Transvaal, and that even if such a war were contemplated it would never be sanctioned by British public opinion. Moreover, in these same circles the belief prevails that, even if the British Government and the British public were really in earnest in their determination to redress the

wrongs of the Uitlanders at the risk of a war with the Transvaal, this determination would die away if once our proposed intervention in the Transvaal seemed likely to lead to complications with continental powers. It is well understood, too, at Pretoria, that there is more than one continental power which would be glad to take part in any demonstration directed against the assertions of Great Britain's supremacy as the paramount power in South Africa. In other words, President Kruger and the leading public men at Pretoria are not unlikely to labor under the dangerous delusion that if they can only bluff high and long enough they can bluff England out of any idea of staking her fortunes on the issue of a war with the Transvaal.

All the warlike preparation which President Kruger is reported to be making, and all his negotiations with the view of enlisting the sympathies of the Dutch in the Orange Free State and the Cape Colony, have, if I am right, a double object. Their primary object is to hinder the British colonists in South Africa from making common cause with their fellow countrymen in the Transvaal. Their secondary and principal object is to impress the British Government and the British public with the belief that any armed intervention on our part in the affairs of the Transvaal would be resisted by the whole Dutch population of South Africa, and, if necessary, resisted to the death. This bellicose attitude is, in fact, as I hold, a mere move in the game of bluff. If England proposed to make war in the Transvaal with the object of reannexing the territory of the Republic and replacing the Transvaal Boers under the rule of the British Crown, our action would be bitterly resented by the Cape and Free State Boers, though even then I do not believe their resentment would proceed to the length of inducing

them to join in any war waged against the might of the British Empire. But both in the Colony and in the Free State the mass of the Dutch community are perfectly well aware that all England either asks or desires from the Transvaal is that English and Dutch in the South African Republic should be placed on the same footing of political equality as they enjoy in every other part of British South Africa. It is absurd to suppose that the Cape and Free State Boers will risk their lives, their liberties and their fortunes, in order to assist their fellow kinsmen in the Transvaal in upholding a policy which they know to be unjust and irrational, and, what is more important still, opposed to the interests of the Afrikander cause.

Thus, if conviction can once be brought home to President Kruger and his colleagues that England really means business, the Transvaal Government will, I am convinced, give way. 'Oom Paul' is far too shrewd a man to believe in the chosen-people theory or in the notion that the English troops are lacking in courage or are inspired by abject terror of the Boers. He is well aware, therefore, that if it ever comes to serious fighting, the ultimate defeat of the Boers by the British is a matter of absolute certainty. Still, if England once puts her foot down she must be prepared to face the possible contingency of a war with the Transvaal, however remote or improbable that contingency may appear to be.

It is well, therefore, to point out in conclusion what the inevitable consequences must be, if, from fear of European complications, from dread of incurring popular displeasure at home, or from reluctance to run the risk of exciting a racial conflict in South Africa, the British Government declines to put its foot down, or, in other words, to take the only step which can secure political

equality for our fellow countrymen in the Transvaal. For the moment the Uitlanders, left to themselves, are powerless to obtain redress. The Government of the Transvaal, flushed with success and convinced that they had no further cause to fear the possibility of British intervention, would harden their hearts. Fresh exactions would be levied on the British mining interests, fresh restrictions would be placed on the free development of the British element in the Transvaal, fresh concessions, monopolies and privileges would be granted to the Pretoria ring at the cost of the Uitlanders; fresh encouragement would be given to German and French enterprise, as opposed to British enterprise, throughout the Transvaal; fresh negotiations would be entered upon with all interests, both at home and abroad, which were likely to prove hostile to British interests; and every attempt would be made to create an impression in South Africa that Confederation could best be brought about in the form of an independent Dutch Republic, not in that of a self-governing dominion forming an integral part of the British Empire. This policy would be facilitated by the fact that the British settlers in South Africa would, of necessity, have lost faith in England's possession of the power or the will to fulfill her Imperial mission.

We must bear in mind that the Transvaal, by its wealth, its resources and its central position, is marked out as the leading state in any South African confederation of the future. Upon the hypothesis to which I refer, the Boer element in this state would be naturally hostile to British interests, while the Uitlander element would, to say the least, be indifferent, if the English settlers believed, as they infallibly would believe, that they had been deserted and betrayed by the mother country in the hour of their need.

Thus the attitude assumed towards the Transvaal by the British Government to-day may probably decide the issue whether South Africa is destined to become a second United States or a second Dominion of Canada, a confederacy formed upon the ideas of Mr. Rhodes or on those of the Afrikander Bond under Mr. Hofmeyr's influence. Upon this issue the fortunes of the British Empire may not impossibly be found to turn. By standing too much on our rights we lost North America. Are we prepared by standing too little on our rights to lose South Africa also? That is the question of the day.



AFTER THE BATTLE OF GLENCOE.

DEATH OF THE BORER GENERAL VERSOY.

## CHAPTER XVII

### SOUTH AFRICAN TERRITORIES

It will be recalled that the Parliament of Cape Colony is composed of a Legislative Council elected for seven years and a House of Assembly elected for five years. Every male citizen earning fifty pounds a year, or occupying a house or lodging and able to write his name and address, has a right to vote. Sir Alfred Milner, the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and High Commissioner for South Africa, was appointed to those offices in 1897.

The military forces of the colony consist of 817 mounted riflemen and 6,535 volunteers, and also 1,413 mounted police. The home government maintains detachments of British troops in the forts along the coast and has a squadron of fifteen war vessels on the Cape and African station.

The total length of the railway lines belonging to the government was on January 1, 1897, 2,253 miles, with 96 miles building. In addition to this, there were 254 miles of private lines in the course of construction. The total length of the telegraph lines on the same date was 6,405 miles.

Cecil Rhodes is the head of the Progressive Party, as it is termed, which urged the removal of import duties on meat and grain, the imposition of an excise tax on brandy, a scab act, a compulsory education bill, restriction of the sale of drink to natives, railway development and a contribution to the imperial navy. The opposing party, which includes most of the Dutch voters, championed the ideas of the Afrikander Bond, as against the imperialism of

Mr. Rhodes, Dutch opposition to English, agricultural rural interests in so far as they conflicted with commercial and industrial, or the country against the towns. The well known policy of the South African League was first propounded by Mr. Rhodes, it being: Imperial union and a colonial confederation of Cape Colony, Natal, Rhodesia, and, when the Uitlanders should gain the ascendancy, of the Transvaal also, and the Orange Free State. The elections for the Legislative Council took place in March and were won by the Progressive Party, who obtained a majority of two in a body of twenty-four members and reduced the representatives of the Afrikander Bond from eighteen to ten.

While the population of Cape Colony has considerably increased during the last years, there had been no change in the number of representatives in the Assembly. All parties agreed that the time had come for an increase, but they by no means agreed upon the methods by which this was to be secured. The question was so important that in December, 1897, a committee was appointed, composed of the leading men of all parties, and sitting under the presidency of the Prime Minister, whose duty it was to discuss, and, if possible, agree upon a policy. The question was considered with deliberation, there being a full and free interchange of views, as a result of which a bill was framed proposing to distribute twelve new members among the constituencies at that time in proportion to their growth, and the creation of three new ones. This would increase the number of Assembly members from seventy-nine to ninety-four.

Notwithstanding the introduction of an educational test and a property qualification by the franchise act of 1892, the number of registered voters of 74,000 in 1891, grew in six years to 110,000. A

minority report of the committee proposed to increase the Assembly to ninety-seven members. This was signed by the ministerial members, and was meant to give the urban constituencies the same proportional increase of representation as was given by the majority report to several of the smaller Dutch electoral divisions. The Legislature adjourned in the latter part of June, and the election took place in August, when the question which overwhelmed all others was that of British supremacy.

Mr. Rhodes was the central figure in this battle. He had never tried to disguise his hope that the English might become absolutely supreme in the affairs of South Africa, their authority to be unquestioned in all matters of government. Mr. Rhodes felt that in this solution of the question lay the only hope of a peaceful and progressive Africa, imperialism to extend from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope. All other questions were forced into the background, with the result that the Progressives were beaten, the Afrikander bond securing a good working majority in the new assembly. Thus the race struggle for political supremacy ended in British defeat.

The Orange Free State next claims attention. There the legislative power is vested in the Volksraad, which is a single chamber, consisting of fifty-eight members, half of whom are elected every two years and serve for double that period. The term of the presidency is for five years, and M. T. Steyn was elected to that office, February 21, 1896. We have already learned a good deal about this independent republic, whose population of somewhat less than a quarter of a million, steadily grows under an immigration from Great Britain, Germany and Holland. A conference of delegates was held at Pretoria in January, 1898, to discuss the basis of a Federal

Union between the Orange Free State and the South African Republic.

The State President in the latter is elected every five years, and "Oom Paul" Kruger was chosen for the fourth time in 1898. The Vice-President and Commandant General is Gen. P. J. Joubert, elected in 1896.

Mr. Rhodes, firmly believing that his policy would in the finality result in the greatest good to Africa, naturally has taken a strong interest in political policies governing the destiny of the Republics and the English colonies. He has for years been quite active in his endeavor to shape these policies and make them conformant to his own ideas. The Boers of the Transvaal government have always maintained that while Mr. Rhodes was prime minister of Cape Colony he devised the scheme which ended in the Jameson raid. But even if this be true, it only accentuates the daring genius of the man who would brush aside all things to accomplish the end in view. A question of morality need not enter into the discussion. Napoleon changed the map of Europe by utter disregard of so-called "right," and yet who can say that his work has not been attended with some benefits to humanity? Napoleon's imperialism at least contained an element of democracy, a thing hateful to the potentates whom he forced from thrones rotten with injustice and oppression. And so Rhodes has felt that English supremacy is better than Dutch supremacy—the question of who first preempted the ground being overshadowed by a vast design—one of those designs which furnish scope only for minds capable of empire building. But the wise Kruger fully understood Rhodes; thus these two leaders were face to face, ready for the contest.

The spirit of the President and the Boers was shown in January, when, in accepting one of the new forts around Pretoria, he said with significant emphasis, that the best guarantee of peace was readiness for war. The popularity of Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger was shown in the election referred to, when he received 12,858 votes to 3,753 for Schalk Burger, and 2,001 for General Joubert, the vote including about two-thirds of the electorate.

A constitutional conflict took place between the President and Chief Justice Kotze, its opening being in September, 1895, when, during the pendency of the case of Brown, an American citizen, who had been ousted from a mining claim, he brought suit for damages against the State Secretary. The High Court gave judgment for Brown in January, 1897, denying the validity of a Volksraad resolution rescinding the proclamation on which Brown based his claim, but the Volksraad, upon reassembling, passed a law declaring that such testing power did not exist and never had existed; requiring the judges of the High Court to take oath that they would carry out all laws and resolutions of the Volksraad, and not presume to test them by the Constitution. Moreover, the Volksraad voted itself power to dismiss from office any judge who, in answer to formal interrogatories, refused to observe Volksraad laws and resolutions. Such legislation in this country would have made its authors a laughing stock and brought a lesson to them which they would not forget in a lifetime. The members of legislative bodies always include a number of ignorant and corrupt men, and one shudders to think of the mischief they might work when their acts are not subject to review by a judicial body above the reach of politics and corruption.

A written agreement was made in March, 1897, on the representation of the Chief Justice of Cape Colony, by which the judges of the High Court promised not to exercise the review power, and President Kruger prepared an amendment by which the Constitution could be changed only by special legislation, and safeguarding at the same time the independence of the judiciary. The President agreed, on the recommendation of the Cape Colony Chief Justice, to secure the appointment of a commission to dispose of the question, but Judge Kotze supposed a bill would be introduced at once.

The sessions of the committee were prolonged and when the Volksraad adjourned nothing had been done to secure the end named. Thereupon Justice Kotze wrote to President Kruger that he accepted such inaction as the collapse of the understanding between them, but the President held that he was not obliged to carry through the legislation the judges asked for, who had made an agreement not to test the acts of the Volksraad. Furthermore, he accepted Chief Justice Kotze's refusal to answer satisfactorily the questions previously put to him in March, 1897, in consequence of which he dismissed him, about a year later, from office, agreeably to a decision of the Executive Council.

The Judge refused to accept this summary action of the President, claiming that the law aimed at him was no law at all, that his appointment was for life, and that he could not be removed except upon charges of grave misdemeanor. In accordance with this view, the Chief Justice declared the court adjourned, but Judge Gregorowski, who had been appointed acting Chief Justice, immediately opened court. Then Justice Kotze addressed a manifesto to the people of the Republic, took steamer to England and

appealed to the British Government to exercise its power as suzerain and prevent the Outlanders from being robbed of their liberty and rights by the Boer authorities. He reminded the Government that he had been appointed for life by England, at the time her forces were in occupation of the Transvaal. Judge Gregorowski was sworn in as Chief Justice on the last day of March.

The session of the Volksraad was opened May 2, and President Kruger was sworn into office ten days later. Among the measures he proposed was the withdrawal of licenses from banks that oppressed poor people and added to the existing depression, and, with a view of suppressing spurious mining companies, the requirement of a certificate from a Government engineer before a company could be floated.

More than once the British Government had expressed strong objections to the alien's expulsion law, and in deference to that feeling it was so amended, on the demand of Mr. Chamberlain, that an Uitlander, accused of acts threatening the peace of the state and consequently liable to expulsion by executive order, was first allowed to bring forward all the testimony he could produce in defense of his rights.

Other bills which, as straws, showed the direction of the wind, gave the executive authority to decide what is a dishonoring sentence, while another prohibited any alien, not a burgher or a citizen of the Orange Free State, from bringing firearms into the Transvaal without a permit from the State Secretary. By way of encouraging what may be considered "home production," a bill was brought forward authorizing the Government to pay £100 to any needy burgher, who had twelve sons living. A bill

established a school of mines in Pretoria and another provided technical schools in all the districts which were to be open only to burghers' sons. The municipal franchise was extended to non-residents, owners of property worth £100, but disqualified Uitlanders from the office of municipal councilor, unless a separate law, as in Johannesburg, gave them such privilege. The subsidies to Uitlander schools were continued for three years more but it was provided that South African history should be taught, and Dutch to a certain standard.

Judge Reitz was chosen in May to succeed Dr. Leyds as State Secretary, he having resigned to go to Europe as diplomatic representative of the South African Republic to Berlin, The Hague, Paris, Lisbon, Rome and St. Petersburg.

When Great Britain withdrew from the Transvaal, after her unexpected defeat at Majuba Hill, she restored full self-government to the people, subject to the suzerainty of the Queen, as set forth in the preamble to the convention of 1881. Since this question of England's suzerainty is the vital one that eventually brought about a rupture between the two countries, the facts relating thereto should be kept in mind.

The term was selected to describe the superiority of a state having independent rights of government, subject to certain specified reservations. The most important of Great Britain's reserved rights in the Transvaal was the control of its external relations, including the making of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with foreign powers. A deputation was sent to London in 1883, to secure the abolition of this suzerainty and the stipulations relating to it. This deputation brought about the Convention of 1884, in which the word "suzerainty" does not occur.

The reserved rights of England were abandoned, except that all treaties with foreign powers, save the Orange Free State, or with native tribes outside the borders, could be vetoed by the English Government at any time within six months of their conclusion. It was Lord Derby who struck out every reference to suzerain rights from the draft of the London convention. As has been shown in another place, the preamble of 1884 explicitly acknowledges a new state, the South African Republic, in place of the Transvaal country, subject to the suzerainty of the Queen.

The first assertion of British suzerainty was made by Mr. Chamberlain in his despatch, already referred to, dated October 16, 1897. His contention was that the alien law, as enacted at first by the Volksraad in 1896, was a violation of the London convention. The Transvaal Government denies this and refused to revoke the law or to suspend its operation, insisting that every state had the right to restrain foreign elements which are inimical to the peace and safety of the inhabitants. It declined the invitation to discuss the question with the British agent for the manifest reason that no discussion could change their views on the matter. To themselves their position was clearly right, and the utmost they would agree to do was to submit the dispute to arbitration. And yet, on the back of this, the law was revoked with the intention of introducing new legislation.

In his answer of October 16, Mr. Chamberlain again urged the claim of his government to be consulted before legislation was introduced restricting the entrance into the Transvaal of aliens other than natives, and he dismissed the rights that had been invoked from the general principles of international law as not applicable to the case, which was "not that of a treaty between two states

on an equal footing, but a declaration, by the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, of the conditions upon which she accorded complete self-government to the South African Republic, subject to her suzerainty." Mr. Chamberlain insisted that the preamble of the Convention of 1881 (in which occurred the statement of suzerainty) was not replaced by the preamble of the Convention of 1884, but was still in force, though the articles of the latter were substituted for those of the former. In other words, the Queen, under the two conventions, held the relation of suzerain toward the South African Republic, and conceded to its people the right of self-government upon certain conditions, which, from the necessity of the case, could not be submitted to arbitration. Dr. Leyds, in reply, went over the negotiations, with Lord Derby's elisions and explanations, holding that not only by the terms was the right of British suzerainty abolished, but that such was the manifest intention of Lord Derby. Leyds declared that through the omission of those articles from the Pretoria Convention, which assigned certain defined powers and functions relating to the internal government and foreign relations to the Transvaal, the South African Republic was left free to manage its affairs without interference from any other government, and it was equally at liberty to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and manage its foreign policy, subject to the single condition that its treaties with foreign powers should be subject to the approval or disapproval of Great Britain. This was the first time that such a construction had been challenged by any one.

Dr. Leyds maintained insistently that the two preambles were in direct opposition to each other, and consequently they could not be in force at the same time. He said Lord Derby expressly declared in his draft of the new convention that it was intended

to take the place of the Pretoria Convention. The doctor proposed to submit the question to arbitration, and maintained his position with remarkable skill. The independence of the South African Republic, he held, owed its formal acknowledgement to an international agreement equally binding on both powers, but its real independence was due to nothing of that nature. The international character of the convention had been acknowledged by Great Britain when she agreed to refer the first article to a friendly power, and it was illogical and unjust to contend that the interpretations of agreements between powers not on the same footing cannot be referred in case of disagreement to international law in the same manner as treaties between powers of the same standing, *since there is no other law to which it is possible to refer them*. Mr. Chamberlain's contention would make his government the sole judge of a document to which it was a party.

Dr. Leyds, when State Secretary, in a dispatch dated May 7, 1897, proposed the abrogation of the London Convention, because England had violated it by the armed invasion of Dr. Jameson. Mr. Chamberlain replied that the act was by private individuals, for which his government was in no wise responsible. Dr. Leyds reminded him that the raiders were Englishmen under the British flag, enlisted, armed and equipped in British territory under orders of the Administrator, who derived his authority from the British Crown; that its leaders were officers holding commissions in the British service, and they had the counsel and aid of Cecil Rhodes the Prime Minister of Cape Colony, while behind him was Sir Graham Bower, Secretary to the High Commissioner of South Africa.

So Leyds and Chamberlain exchanged notes for several months,

each holding to his own views. Good feeling gradually vanished in the bitterness of the contention.

Mr. Chamberlain regretted that an extradition treaty, negotiated with Portugal in 1893, was not submitted to the British Government as was required by the fourth article of the London Convention, which required treaties, upon their conclusion, to be submitted to the Queen, but through fear of offending the British Government, Portugal declined to ratify the treaty. Dr. Leyds justified the attempted evasion of the convention from this fact, and argued that a treaty is not completed until it is ratified.

In March, 1898, the Volksraad passed a resolution authorizing the government to surrender any fugitive demanded by a state, with which there was no regular extradition treaty, the government to decide whether such extradition was in the interest of justice. This act and a reciprocal one on the part of the Portuguese Government removed the necessity for a treaty of extradition, but the proceedings being formally correct, no objections were raised by the British Government. The Transvaal, however, refused to form such a treaty with Rhodesia.

In June of this year, the thirteen subordinate officers who took part in the Jameson raid and who were allowed to resign their commissions after their trial and conviction, were restored to their former rank by the British military authorities. There is little doubt that these officers were made to believe that the enterprise on which they entered had the secret sanction of some one high in authority, and, if successful, they would have been rewarded. This does not signify that the British government had direct cognizance of the raid, though the messages of Mr. Chamberlain warning the raiders would seem to indicate that the news had got to London.

A glance at the map will show on the east of the Transvaal, a native territory of which we have hitherto had little to say. This is Swaziland, inhabited by the Swazis, who are an offshoot of the Zulu nation, and whose country was recognized as independent at the London Convention of 1884. The growth of its white population led to the vesting of their government in 1890 in a government committee, and some four years later Swaziland was placed under the protection and administration of the Transvaal.

Swaziland is about the size of the State of Massachusetts, and has a population of some 50,000 Kaffirs and 1,000 whites, mostly Boer graziers with a few British traders and miners. The natives are under the rule of their chief Bunu, known also as Ngwane, born in 1877, who commands an army of 18,000 warriors. The Transvaal authorities were not allowed to collect a native hut tax until 1898, and during the intervening years, the annual revenue was no more than £3,000, which left a yearly deficit of £47,000, which was paid out of the Transvaal treasury. When the time limit had expired, the Republic made its arrangements for collecting the deficit, but Bunu, the king, took a somewhat civilized method of avoiding the payment of the tax by flitting into the mountains. After reflection, however, he sent word that he would collect the tax, if it were insisted upon, and hand it over to the government. Needless to say, payment was insisted upon, but the ruler was so slow in coming to terms, that a burgher force marched into his country in May to bring the king to terms, he having killed his principal under chief or adviser. Bunu was ordered to attend a judicial inquiry on July 5, but this time he fled over the Natal border. He was delivered up for trial and the collection of the hut tax was begun on the 1st of August.

The total area of the territories which in 1891 came under the administration of the British South Africa Company, including North Rhodesia, is about 600,000 square miles. South Rhodesia, containing 350,000 square miles, lies to the south of the Zambesi. In 1890, the pioneers of the company settled in Mashonaland, at that time a province of Matabeleland by permission of the noted Matabele chief Lobengula. They had built 400 miles of road through Bechuanaland in order to reach the country where it was reported gold was to be found. Two years later, the colonists ousted the Matabeles and the company took possession of the country. Its area is 60,000 square miles, with a population of 240,000: the area of Mashonaland is 80,000 square miles and its population, 210,000. At the time of the Matabela uprising in 1896, there were not quite 6,000 white persons in the country.

Considerable development of the country has taken place and several thousand more white persons have settled within its borders. In addition to Salisbury, the capital of Rhodesia, the principal towns are Buluwayo, formerly the Matabele capital, Umtali, Victoria, Gwelo, Enkeldoorn, and Melsetter. All these places have telegraphic connection with Mafeking and Cape Colony, and the line has been extended northward into Nyassaland. The telegraph and railway have been steadily pushed in different directions.

The original capital of the British South Africa Company was £1,000,000, increased in 1895 to £2,500,000, and in the latter part of 1896 to £3,500,000. It has in addition a five per cent. debenture debt of £1,250,000. The shareholders at a meeting held in April, 1898, decided to increase the capital to £5,000,000, issuing for the time only 250,000 shares, and reserving the remainder to be issued from time to time as additional capital might be needed. Despite

the expenses caused by wars and the rinderpest, the profits of the company have been enormous, and when the books were opened for subscription, the public subscribed £1,250,000 instead of the £500,000 offered.

Cecil J. Rhodes, Alfred Beit and Rochefort Maguire retired from the direction in 1897, on account of the part they took in the Jameson raid, but were reelected in the following year.

After the Jameson raid, the British Government transferred the control of the military forces to the High Commissioner and took from the company the greater part of its political and administrative privileges, such action being at the suggestion of the directors made several years previous, with a view of giving the inhabitants a share in the administration and its responsibilities.

The Secretary of State announced in January, 1898, the plan adopted for the colonies. All legislation was to be passed locally by the Legislative Council of South Rhodesia, comprising two elective members for Mashonaland, two for Matabeleland, and five members nominated by the company, to which was thus secured a majority, so long as it continued responsible for the finances.

Cecil Rhodes, accompanied by J. W. Colenbrander, Dr. Hans Sauer, Mr. Stent and John Grootbloom, visited the rebellious Matabeles and secured their final submission. They gave up an immense number of arms and down to the present time have caused the authorities no trouble.

At the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and the Transvaal, it will be remembered, much uneasiness was felt by the former, over the attitude of the surrounding natives; for if a general uprising took place, the loss of life was sure to be appalling. No Africans were held in greater dread than the Zulus, for

they had given England a taste of their ferocity and infernal power for mischief. It was they who killed the Prince Imperial of France while fighting with the English.

The Zulu is probably the best native fighter in South Africa. He is fierce, active, powerful, and daring to the last degree, and his people made a desperate fight before they yielded to the overpowering force of England. The main secret of their strength lies in their organization. It was this which enabled them a half century ago to conquer the surrounding tribes and sweep everything before them.

Zululand is a wild country, bounded on the north by the Transvaal, on the south and west by Natal, and on the east by the sea. It is larger than the State of New Jersey, and contains about 180,000 natives, and less than 1,500 whites. The only occupation of the natives is the raising of cattle.

There was fear, also, regarding the Basutos, who, though not the peers of the Zulus, have a strong position, with Cape Colony, the Orange Free State and Natal on its borders. They are thrifty and well off, there being probably 50,000 out of a total of 220,000, who profess Christianity. The country is a fine grain producer, and there are wild and precipitous mountains to which the natives can flee and find secure refuge in case of danger.

ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH AT LOMBARD'S KOP.

ELANDS LAAGTE—THE FINAL CHARGE OF THE GORDONS AND IMPERIAL LIGHT HORSE

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE DARKENING SKIES

For months before the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic, intelligent men in both countries saw that the conflict was as certain to come as the sun was to rise in the heavens. The Uitlanders were not to be satisfied with Boer promises, but immediate Boer performance was demanded. The Uitlanders, men composed of all nationalities, insisted that their rights were being invaded by the Boers, and that it was impossible for them or their interests to be represented in the authority or government of the Transvaal.

Early in April, 1899, a petition signed by 21,000 British subjects, resident at and near Johannesburg, was placed in the hands of Mr. Conyngham Greene, British agent at Pretoria, and sent home by Sir Alfred Milner, governor of the Cape Colony and British High Commissioner. Every one knows how readily signatures can be obtained to any paper in the nature of a petition, but Sir Alfred Milner certified to the substantial genuineness of the names as well as of the grievances of which complaint was made.

The petition cites the constant breaking of President Kruger's promises with regard to reform; the absolute lack of protection against mob violence; the law permitting expulsion of British subjects at the will of the president without appeal to the high court; the concentration of the powers of government in the hands of the burghers, 1,000 in number, while the Uitlanders are 23,000. In short, the condition of the Uitlanders is declared to be intolerable, and they

implore the Queen to secure for them the ordinary rights of citizens.

About the same time, President Kruger, in an elaborate speech at Johannesburg, used the following words regarding the franchise dispute:

"I would not be worthy to be the head of the State if I did not protect the old burghers. Nor would I be worthy to be the head of the State if I did not bear in mind the interests of the new population with the object of helping them. I make no distinction between nationalities; I only make a distinction between good and bad people —between those who are loyal and those who are not. You all know that when first we discovered these gold fields, and they began to be worked, the franchise was given to any one who lived here a year. But when from all countries and all nations men began to stream in, it became our duty to prevent the old burghers from being overwhelmed. I would not have been worthy of my position if I had allowed the new-comers to immediately sweep away and overwhelm the old inhabitants of the country."

It has been alleged that there was not perfect unanimity among the foreign residents of the Transvaal in the opposition to the Boer government, shown by the above petition. A counter petition was drawn up and largely signed, which challenged the petition of the 21,000, and expressed the satisfaction of the signers with the Boer government, and confidence in the final removal of all real grievances, where they existed, "by mutual coöperation and without mediation of any foreign government or advice from capitalists."

When questioned in Parliament, Mr. Chamberlain admitted that he had received the former petition, and that the petitioners complained "among other things, of exclusion from the franchise." He knew of no

precedent for such a petition nor of any precedent "for the state of circumstances which led to its presentation." The London *Times* remarks:

"The situation caused by the inveterate resistance of the Boers to the most moderate and reasonable constitutional reform, is without precedent. If a solution for it cannot be found in accordance with precedent, a precedent to fit it must be created. A first step has been taken by receiving the petition. Apparently it has shocked the respect for established institutions entertained by such enemies to change as Mr. Bryn Roberts, the Welsh Radical, and the love of legality for its own sake, so often exemplified in the career of Mr. Dillon, the Irish Nationalist. The community at large, we do not hesitate to say, will not share these scruples. It will heartily endorse the view of the Colonial Secretary when he declared that doubt is impossible as to the propriety of receiving the petition, 'having regard to the position which this country occupies in relation to the South African Republic.'"

The *Times* declared further that the failure to enforce franchise rights for British subjects in the Transvaal was an admission that the British government was too cowardly to enforce the rights of Englishmen in an insignificant republic, "which owes to our magnanimity, or to our weakness in the past, its relative independence." It was high time to end the scandal. "Our hands are free in foreign politics, and the public opinion of the world condemns the stubborn obscurations of the Boer State."

At that time, it required fourteen years for the Uitlander to acquire full privileges as an enfranchised citizen. President Kruger, in the face of strong opposition on the part of many of his friends, proposed to reduce this term to five years, with the pledge to reduce this term in the course of another ten years still further. He dwelt

with much force upon the destructive difference between the admission of foreigners as citizens in large countries like the United States and their admission in the Transvaal where they would immediately become the majority and hence the ruling power of the nation.

Meanwhile, France expressed its dissatisfaction, through its leading newspapers of the money interests of the European continent, over the state of affairs in the Boer Republic and demanded of the British Government that it secure justice for French investors in the Transvaal, "or give up the claim of suzerainty and allow foreign governments to protect their own subjects in their rights." In May, the French shareholders in the Rand gold mines undertook the preparation of a memorial to the British Government demanding "protection for foreign capital in the Transvaal." On the 18th of the same month, President Kruger's proposals for reform were presented to the Raad.

These proposals would seem to be a substantial step in the right direction, but Sir Alfred Milner, after careful examination, pronounced them worthless, as a means of securing the end sought, and, meek as they were, there was no guarantee that they would not be swept out of existence by the First Raad whenever the whim seized them, or whenever that body deemed that a political point could be secured by such action.

In Sir Alfred's dispatch from Cape Town, telegraphed to Mr. Chamberlain, he said that British subjects resented.—

"The personal indignity involved in the position of permanent subjection to the ruling caste, which owes its wealth and power to their exertion. The political turmoil in the South African Republic will never end till the permanent Uitlander population is admitted to a share in the government, and while that turmoil lasts there

will be no tranquillity or adequate progress in Her Majesty's South African domains. . . . The only condition on which the South African Colonies and the two Republics can live in harmony and the country progress, is equality all round. South Africa can prosper under two, three, or six governments, but never under two absolutely conflicting social and political systems, perfect equality for Dutch and British in the British Colonies side by side with permanent subjection of British and Dutch in one of the Republics. It is idle to talk of peace and unity under such a state of affairs."

Since this dispatch was generally accepted as an embodiment of the national policy, and received general support, it is important that all its points should be understood. Sir Alfred Milner declared that the grievances alleged in the petition to the Queen were substantiated, that nothing had been done to alleviate them, and the last state of the Uitlanders was worse than the first. It was the right and the interest of Great Britain to secure fair treatment of the Uitlanders, of whom the majority were British subjects, and the practice of remonstrating about every injury to individual Englishmen had become impossible. "It may easily lead to war," said Sir Alfred, "but it will never lead to real improvement.

"The true remedy is to strike at the root of all these injuries, the political impotence of the injured. What diplomatic protests will never accomplish, a fair measure of Uitlander representation would gradually but surely bring about. It seems a paradox, but it is true, that the only effective way of protecting our subjects is to help them to cease to be our subjects. The admission of Uitlanders to a fair share of political power would, no doubt, give stability to the Republic; but, it at the same time, will remove most of our causes of difference with it, and modify, and in the long run,

entirely remove that intense suspicion and bitter hostility to Great Britain, which at present dominates its internal and external policy.

"I see nothing," concludes the dispatch, "which will put an end to this mischievous propaganda, but some striking proof of the intention of Her Majesty's Government not to be ousted from its position in South Africa. And the best proof, alike of its power and its justice, would be to obtain for the Uitlanders in the Transvaal a fair share in the government of the country, which owes everything to their exertions. It would be made perfectly clear that our action was not directed against the existence of the Republic."

The position of the immense majority of the Uitlander population may be summed up thus:

They cannot acquire the franchise for the First Raad, which is the only franchise worth having, except by previously becoming eligible to the Second Raad or by military service. The conditions of eligibility to the Second Raad are four years' residence, the attainment of the age of thirty, and the taking of the oath of allegiance. But this is not all. The Uitlander who has fulfilled all these conditions has to pass through a period of ten years' probation after he has become eligible to the Second Raad before he can be given a vote for the First Raad. Even then, after fourteen years' residence and at the age of forty, he is apparently not entitled to this vote as of right. It may be granted him "upon a resolution taken by the First Volksraad and in terms of rules to be hereinafter fixed by law." Although the principal law was passed in 1890, the "rules to be hereafter fixed by law" under that act have not yet been promulgated. Franchise by military service is equally difficult of attainment. The service must be

service rendered in response to a summons in terms of the existing laws, so that the authorities can exclude Uitlanders from enfranchisement under this provision by omitting to summon them. If the summons is sent and the service performed, the Uitlander who has performed it may still be as far from the full franchise as ever. Whether the Uitlander claims the vote for the First Raad in virtue of ten years' eligibility to the Second Raad or for military service, he cannot get it without the written petition of two-thirds of the enfranchised burghers of his ward. This condition is, of course, prohibitive, as doubtless it was intended to be. Two-thirds of the burghers never vote on any occasion, not even in the most hotly-contested presidential elections.

The strongest point made by the British policy was that it rested upon no argumentative claims to suzerainty, but on one of the priceless rights of England to protect the interests of its own subjects in every quarter of the globe, and to obtain the peace and prosperity of South Africa. Replying, therefore, to Sir Alfred's dispatch, Mr. Chamberlain recounted the Uitlander grievances and pronounced them intolerable. The right of his country to redress them rested upon three grounds: The convention of 1884 was designed to secure equality of treatment in the South African Republic for Uitlander and Boer; Great Britain was the paramount power there; and it was a national duty to protect British subjects living in a foreign country.

"The British Government," wrote Mr. Chamberlain, "still cherish the hope that the publicity given to the British representations of the Uitlander population, and the fact, of which the Government of the South African Republic must be aware, that they are losing the sympathy of those other States which, like Great Britain, are

deeply interested in the prosperity of the Transvaal, may induce them to reconsider their policy, and by redressing the most serious of the grievances now complained of, to remove a standing danger to the peace and prosperity, not only of the Republic itself, but also of South Africa generally."

These words indicated increasing friction between the two countries, and caused an uneasiness beyond the borders of each. No nation can contemplate the approach of war without a shudder, for it is the most appalling calamity to mankind conceivable. Europe is continually disturbed by the rumors of war which fill the air, and the fact that in the majority of instances the threatening clouds have dissolved without emitting the lightning bolts, is proof of the dread that all feel of the arbitrament of arms—the court of the last resort.

Mr. Chamberlain proposed that President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner should meet and discuss in a conciliatory spirit the best method of curing the Uitlander grievances, and bringing about good relations between England and the Transvaal. This suggestion, however, had been forestalled by those gentlemen, who held a conference at Bloemfontein, May 30, 1899, on the invitation of the President of the Orange Free State, whose interests are so closely interwoven with those of the Transvaal that he was painfully desirous that a peaceful solution of the troubles should be reached. At this meeting, Sir Alfred declared with earnest emphasis that the last wish of himself and his friends was to impair the independence of the Republic. The enfranchisement of the Uitlanders would strengthen such independence and almost, or wholly, remove the need of British interference. Instead of crushing the old burghers, his desire was to give to the new ones a moderate

representation, that the way might be opened to seek a constitutional redress for their own grievances.

President Kruger said that he had come to the convention in the trust that his Excellency was a man capable of conviction, and would enter into all the points of difference. He claimed full independence as to the internal affairs of the State, but if his Excellency, in a friendly way, would give him hints on internal matters, he would listen and do all he could to remove the points of difference. Concerning the franchise, the President said:

"I am not surprised that in other places the men would only have to wait a year to get it, because there are millions of old burghers, and the few that come in cannot outvote the old burghers; but with us, those who rushed into the gold fields are in large numbers and of all kinds, and the number of burghers is still insignificant; therefore, we are compelled to make the franchise so that they cannot rush into it all at once, and so soon as we can assure ourselves, by a gradual increase of our burghers, that we can safely do it, our plan is to reduce the time for any one there to take up the franchise, and that is my plan."

In a dispatch from the Government at Pretoria to Dr. Leyds, diplomatic representative in Europe, of the South African Republic, it was stated that, on the British side, stress was laid on the franchise and dynamite questions—the close monopoly of dynamite in the Transvaal, with vast and unreasonable profits to the monopolists.

In addition to the arguments already named concerning the franchise dispute, there were those on the incorporation of Swaziland with the Transvaal territory, payment of an indemnity for the losses and expenses of the Boers because of Jameson's raid, and adoption of the principle of arbitration in all differences

between the two countries. Sir Alfred, however, laid no special stress on the dynamite question, nor did President Kruger on the Swaziland matter. Sir Alfred was sure the indemnity question could be settled by arbitration.

The franchise question was the rock upon which the two split. The High Commissioner proposed:

1. That it should be obtainable after five years' residence and should be retroactive.
2. That the naturalization oath should be modified.
3. That an equitable representation should be granted to the Uitlanders.
4. That naturalization should include the immediate right of voting.

President Kruger's proposal was to make a residence of two years a prerequisite for naturalization; and a further residence of five years a prerequisite for admission to the full franchise; persons established in the country previous to 1890 to have the franchise in two years; the mining population to be more largely represented; one of the conditions of obtaining naturalization to be the possession of at least \$750 of property, or occupation of a house worth at least \$250 a year, or an income of at least \$1,000 a year. Another important condition of naturalization was that the person should have had citizen rights in his own country. It will be seen that this would have been a most effectual step toward securing a pure ballot; but all of President Kruger's proposals were conditional upon the British government accepting the principle of arbitration in differences between the two countries.

The correspondent of the *N. Y. Tribune*, under date of June 10, thus referred to the situation:

"Mr. Chamberlain asserts that a new situation has been created in the Transvaal by the failure of the conference, and the English press is eager to take his word for it; but neither he nor they can explain intelligibly how this *impasse* alters the conditions and obligations of treaty law. The truth is that the old situation created by the treaty made with the Transvaal fifteen years ago remains unaltered. That convention was clumsily drawn, but Lord Derby officially interpreted it at the time as a pledge that the British government would not impose upon the Transvaal any liability to intervention in internal affairs. England, under Gladstone's initiative, bound herself hand and foot, in a transport of magnanimity and self-denial; and her pledges now remain to hamper her when many thousands of her citizens are deprived of their just rights. The old situation is maintained by the requirements of national honor and an explicit pledge against interference in the domestic affairs of the Dutch Republic.

"A new situation will arise when the British government decides that the grievances of the Uitlanders exceed the moral obligations imposed by the treaty, and that coercion is necessary to bring the Boers to their senses. Probably Mr. Chamberlain would like to take this stand at once; but Lord Salisbury is prime minister, and prefers to make haste slowly."

Sir Alfred admitted that the proposals were a distinct advance on the existing system, but, nevertheless, it was utterly inadequate to a settlement of the question. President Kruger pressed his plan of arbitration for future differences, but the high commissioner refused to complicate the great question of the franchise with other matters. And so the convention came to naught.

The Volksraad, after debating for a long time in secret,

approved, June 9, their president's proposals, and instructed the government to formulate them into a bill to be laid before the legislature. At the same time they adopted a resolution expressing its regret that Sir Alfred Milner had rejected the proposals of President Kruger, which it pronounced "in the highest degree reasonable."

There was widespread disappointment over the failure of the conference to reach an agreement, but the fact that each side had made concessions and showed an apparently honest wish to solve the vexatious problem, caused a general hope that such a solution would be reached sooner or later. The shrewder and more far-seeing ones, however, saw that, despite the mutual concessions, there existed no real common ground upon which they could meet.

It was a game of diplomacy, in which the players on both sides were past-masters of the art. With a predominant Dutch population in Cape Colony and the community of interests and friendship between the Orange Free State and the Republic, it was necessary for Great Britain to formulate her demands so as to secure the support of a majority of the citizens of South Africa.

There was good ground offered Great Britain upon which to make her demands. The system of government prevailing in the Transvaal is narrow, exclusive, non-progressive, and, in many instances, corrupt. Most of the Dutch in Cape Colony, and a great many of those in the Free State, have long been opposed to this policy. It was necessary, above all things, to convince these people that England had no intention of pushing any scheme of annexation.

The great calamity to be feared was that the conflict with the Boer president should become one for racial supremacy. W. P. Schreiner, prime minister and the political head of Cape Colony, is

one of the most loyal and high minded officials in the service of Great Britain. He and the ministry of the Cape had thoughtfully considered the proposals of President Kruger and believed they presented a basis upon which the irritating franchise quarrel could be settled. They respectfully submitted their views to Sir Alfred Milner, but the statesman shook his head.

"The differences between President Kruger and me are irreconcilable. If you are so optimistic in your views it is you who should discuss them with him." On the heels of this suggestion came a telegram from Mr. Chamberlain asking the Cape ministry to bring all the influence they could upon the South African Republic, so to modify their proposals that all necessity for British interference in such matters would be removed. The enmity between the Johannesburg Uitlanders and burghers was steadily deepening, while between the two, the Cape ministry and Orange Free State gently wedged themselves and sought with inclosing arms to draw the factions together.

When feeling was in this delicate state an incident occurred, unimportant of itself, but most unfortunate because it intensified the general distrust and suspicion. A number of alleged ex-officers of the British army were arrested at Johannesburg, taken to Pretoria and remanded for trial. Affidavits were submitted to the court, charging that 2,000 men had been enrolled for military service, that they were to be furnished with arms in Natal, and then taken back to the Raad, where at the proper moment they would seize and hold the fort of Johannesburg for twenty-four hours, or until the arrival of British troops.

In the first telegram from Pretoria, making known the arrest of the alleged conspirators, it was said that they presented the appearance

of "ordinary loafers," but in another dispatch the prisoners were described as a colonel, a captain and several lieutenants, one of whom claimed that he was acting under instructions from the British war department.

It was impossible that this statement should be true, for, recalling the Jameson raid, it was a height of folly to which no government could attain. By some it was asserted that the whole thing was a conspiracy of the Boer police, and the men arrested were irresponsible nobodies. The trial failed to develop any connection between the British government, home or colonial, and the conspiracy, if any such existed, but the affair itself added to the hostility of the quarreling factions, and to that extent increased the difficulty of clearing the briars from the path leading to peace.

By this time the truth was clearer than ever that not an inch of advance could be made toward securing the franchise for the Uitlanders until the burghers were convinced that their independence was not thereby imperiled.

Great crises not only produce their great men, but their great fools, and, unfortunately, the latter crop is often the more exuberant. On June 11, the Transvaal branch of the South African League, in an address to the high commissioner, impressed upon him the fact that the proposed franchise would prove of very little help to the Uitlanders unless they "at once obtained a preponderating influence in the Raad!" The League urged further that the sweeping reforms demanded must be effected "by pressure from the suzerain power," contemporaneously with the grant of the new franchise, and finally that the Boer fort at Johannesburg should be demolished without delay. This was pouring oil upon the fire with a vengeance.

Still, as the summer advanced, there seemed to be reason to

hope that, despite the extremists on both sides, the two governments might reach a satisfactory conclusion. Sir Alfred Milner had declared at the conference that he was prepared to drop all questions connected with the position of British subjects, if only President Kruger could be persuaded to adopt a liberal measure of enfranchisement, and in urging this view, Sir Alfred felt he was supported by no inconsiderable Dutch sentiment. Moreover, pressure was now brought to bear upon the president by those whose honesty could not be questioned.

Mr. Chamberlain informed the House of Commons on July 20, that he was gratified to state that President Kruger had greatly modified his proposals, and that the Government hoped that the new law just passed by the Raad, offered the basis of settlement on the lines laid down by Sir Alfred Milner at the conference. Difficult details remained to be arranged, but he trusted that the president would show himself willing to deal with them in a spirit that would contribute to the desired end.

The same hopeful tone marked the dispatch of the secretary of state, a week later, when he informed the high commissioner of the advances made by President Kruger in meeting the British demands. He pointed out that the Volksraad "had now agreed to a measure intended to give the franchise immediately to those who have been resident in the country for seven years, as well as to those who may in future complete this period of residence. This proposal is an advance on previous concessions, and leaves only a difference of two years between yourself and President Kruger so far as the franchise is concerned."

Among the important details that remained to be arranged was the allotment of a fair proportion of seats to the Uitlander

districts, nor should the privileges thus granted be at the mercy of the Boer government to reduce or wipe out altogether. It was suggested that the best way to arrange these details was to submit the matter to delegates appointed by the high commissioner and President Kruger, who would discuss them and report to their respective governments. The settlement of the question of arbitration seemed in sight, though Mr. Chamberlain would not consent that any question should arise "in the interpretation of the preamble of the Convention of 1881, which governed the articles substituted in the Convention of 1884.

The high commissioner now set himself to examine the details and probable operation of the new law, and became convinced that it was so inclosed and interwoven with difficulties and complications that he was forced to advise its rejection. Moreover, the Boers objected to the appointment of a joint commission to inquire into such matters, for, always suspicious, they saw in such a move a peril to their legislative independence. At the same time the Uitlanders showed no wish to learn the basis of a working system in the bill passed by the Raad. It has always been one of the contentions of President Kruger that the Uitlanders had no wish to become enfranchised citizens of the Republic, and that it was simply a scheme to destroy Boer independence.

And so, as the summer waned, the disputants, instead of drawing nearer, steadily recoiled, and the cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, spread and darkened in the sky, and thoughtful men trembled as they saw it still growing and darkening. In the latter part of August President Kruger, having objected to the joint commission, proposed a plan for dealing with the franchise and representation which went much further than any proposal heretofore

CHARGE OF THE FIFTH LANCERS AT ISLANDS LAAGTE.

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AN ARMORED TRAIN SHELLING A FOER BATTERY AT NIGHT.

made, and seemingly were more liberal than the proposals of Sir Alfred Milner himself. This project included a five years' retrospective franchise, ten seats for the Uitlander districts in a First Raad of thirty-six, and equality between new and old burghers in voting for the election of the President of the Republic and Commandant-General. In offering these terms, the government declared it was going far beyond what could be reasonably asked, but it did so "out of its strong desire to get the controversies between the two governments settled, and further, to put an end to present strained relations between the two governments, and the incalculable harm and loss it has already occasioned in South Africa, and to prevent a racial war, from the effects of which South Africa may not recover for many generations—perhaps never."

Who could doubt, on the face of it, after such a liberal concession, that the cloud in the sky would dissolve and melt away, and that the two governments would speedily come to terms? It must be added, however, that President Kruger's proposals were conditioned upon Great Britain's non-interference in the internal affairs of the Republic, her renouncing her claim to suzerainty, and her agreement to arbitration from which all foreign elements, except that of the Orange Free State, should be excluded.

The reply of the State Secretary was characteristic. He was prepared to accept the Boer plan if, after examination by a British and a Transvaal agent, it was clear that it would carry out the project proposed; and he "hoped" that further interference in the affairs of the Republic would not be necessary. He refused, however, to waive the rights of Great Britain under the conventions (1881 and 1884), or to divest his country of the ordinary obligations of a civilized power to protect its subjects in a foreign land. He

was ready to agree to arbitration, but on suzerainty he begged to refer the South African Republic to his previous dispatch. Mr. Chamberlain added:

"Her Majesty's Government also desire to remind the government of the South African Republic that there are other matters of difference between the two governments which will not be settled by the grant of political representation to the Uitlanders, and which are not proper subjects for reference to arbitration. It is necessary that these should be settled concurrently with the questions now under discussion, and they will form, with the question of arbitration, proper subjects for consideration at the conference," which the secretary proposed should be held by the high commissioners and the president at Cape Town.

As with all great questions, there was not entire unanimity in England as to Mr. Chamberlain's counter proposals, and he was subjected to more or less criticism, some of it perhaps dictated by party feeling. Frederic Harrison thus put the matter:

"No legal quibbling about suzerainty can persuade us that the South African Republic is a part of the empire. If it is not part of the empire it must be a foreign state, even though it be one over which, by agreement, Great Britain has some control. But this control is solely concerned with the external, not with the internal, relations of the Republic. The point in dispute solely relates to the internal relations of the Transvaal. No one pretends that the dispute concerns the dealings of the Republic with foreign nations. Therefore the cause of war, if war there is to be, arises from matters between Great Britain and the home affairs of a Republic which is not within the empire, not within the dominions of the Queen,"

The British case was thus stated by a prominent London journal:

"Where nations are concerned the only rights are the rights of strength, of ability, and of success. These qualities we believe to be those of the British Empire at present, and we mean to make them manifest in South Africa. As practical men we see that the development of an immense portion of the globe lies in our hands, and in our hands alone, and we shall admit of no obstacles in our path. The Boer may stand against us for a moment, but only to be swept into oblivion. For us, too, in other days, may come annihilation and defeat, but in the meanwhile we are the paramount power, and no man shall deny it."

The Boers seem to have made a serious mistake, when, on September 2, they withdrew their offer of some two weeks previous, on the ground that its terms and conditions were not frankly accepted by the British government. They said they did not ask the government to yield any of its rights, either under international law or by virtue of any treaty, but they insisted that the Convention of 1884 abolished the right of suzerainty. They showed further by their reference to the franchise reform already passed, that they were ready to consider the question of appointing delegates to examine its efficacy, as had been urged by the Secretary of State.

In his reply to this dispatch on September 9, Mr. Chamberlain repudiated the claim of the Republic to "the status of a Sovereign International State," refused to make any agreement admitting the admission of such status. He declined to recede from the proposals of August and to return to the earlier proposals which he now pronounced insufficient, but he was prepared to accept those of the Boer government as to franchise and seats, and the State Secretary

made no mention of the "suzerainty." The acceptance of these terms, he declared, would at once remove the tension between the two governments, and would, in all probability, render unnecessary any further intervention on the part of the British government "to secure the redress of grievances which the Uitlanders would themselves be able to bring to the notice of the executive government and Raad." In conclusion, Mr. Chamberlain urged in the interests of South Africa, the relief of the present strain, and referred to a future conference between the high commissioner and the president on outstanding questions not relating to Uitlander grievances.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE ISSUE IS MADE UP

The excitement over the situation in South Africa steadily grew throughout the month of September. There was a good deal of intemperate writing in the newspapers, and a few insisted that it was not a question of justice and right, but of who was to rule in Africa. Influential men urged the government to cease its dallying, break off negotiations and send a powerful army into the Transvaal that would bring the Boers to their senses. To the replies that it was the period of all others when patience and calm deliberation should prevail, many shouted "Remember Majuba Hill." The memory of the defeat suffered on that battlefield by the British arms, is a sore one to England. Fortunately the government had thoughtful men at the head of affairs who refused to be driven into any rash steps. Why should they, when they had reason to hope they could accomplish their purpose by diplomacy instead of force? Lord Salisbury and his Cabinet remained cool, with the determination to keep open to the last hour the door for temperate proposals and action.

The most regrettable feature of the situation was, that the two governments should come so near each other in their proposals and counter-proposals, and yet the strong probability of war remain. And this, too, when none knew better than both the full cup of sorrow and suffering that would be pressed to the lips of each in the event of hostilities breaking out between the two nations.

The reader will understand from what has been already stated, that the insuperable obstacle in the way of a relief of the tension

and the securement of absolute tranquillity, was the distrust of President Kruger and his countrymen in the motives and real designs of Great Britain. Could they have felt absolutely certain that England was not plotting to wrest their country from them, that its independence would never be attacked and that the mighty empire would rest content with what she had asked, there would not have been any hesitation in granting her demands.

President Kruger is a suspicious man, and he believed that the mainspring of Great Britain's action was the party in South Africa, who has always admitted its purpose of securing full possession of the country. Although in another place we have given a sketch of this remarkable man, it is not inappropriate to quote here the words of Mr. Lecky, who knew him well:

"He bears a striking resemblance to the stern Puritan warrior of the Commonwealth—a strong, stubborn man, with indomitable courage and resolution, with very little tinge of cultivation, but with a rare natural shrewdness in judging men and events, impressing all who came in contact with him with the extraordinary force of his nature. He is a member of the 'Dopper' sect, who are opposed to everything in the nature of innovation, and is ardently religious, believing, it is said, as strongly as Wesley in a direct personal inspiration guiding him in his acts."

It was on September 2, that the Boers, finding their proposal rejected, returned to the former offer of Great Britain and agreed to the proposed commission of inquiry into the seven years' franchise. The British Government, however, was convinced that the scheme would not give immediate and proper representation to the Uitlanders. She insisted upon what is known as the five years' franchise, with the further condition that the English language

should be equally authorized with the Dutch in the proceedings of the Volksraad.

The Boers replied September 16, expressing their surprise that a new proposal should be made, after they had accepted the original proposition of Mr. Chamberlain to refer the dispute over the seven years' franchise to a mixed commission of inquiry. They added: "It is not clear on what grounds Her Majesty's Government after having recently, by means of its invitation, intimated that it could not declare, without an inquiry, whether the franchise law would afford immediate and substantial representation, is to-day, without having made any inquiry, in a position to declare that the measure thus mentioned is insufficient for the object contemplated."

The following paragraph is from an English writer in the *Review of Reviews*:

"It is worth while to note here that in pressing for the adoption of the mixed commission of inquiry into the question as to the extent of the enfranchisement secured by the new Transvaal law, the Boers were not only accepting the proposal which the English Government itself had made, but they were placing themselves in a line with the unanimous opinion of the whole civilized world. At the conference at The Hague such disputes as those between England and the Transvaal, which turn on a question of fact, were lengthily discussed and carefully provided for in Article 9 of the Convention of Arbitration. Lord Pauncefote, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, took a leading and honorable part in elaborating this article, which provides that when disputes arise between states which threaten to involve war, an international commission of investigation should be issued for the purpose of clearing up the facts by a careful and conscientious

examination such as would throw light upon all that was obscure in the controversy. The Boers had, therefore, behind them, not only Mr. Chamberlain's own proposal, but the unanimous counsel of all the powers represented at The Hague, from which assembly they themselves had been excluded. Nevertheless, instead of accepting their proposal, our ministers—whose monumental patience is so extolled by their Pharisaic acolytes—did exactly what they would not have done if they had wished for peace, and took the step which every one predicted they would take who believed that Mr. Chamberlain, having worked for war, would not be balked of his prey."

One of the most powerful allies of Lord Pauncefote at The Hague was M. D'Estournelles, who, for a number of years, was virtually French Ambassador at London. He was the author at the Peace Conference of the clause concerning duty in the arbitration convention. While the skies were darkening between Great Britain and the Transvaal he uttered the following impressive words:

"I shall only say one word about England, to call to mind that it is to her eminent delegate, Lord Pauncefote, that is due the great honor of having been the first to produce a project for an international tribunal of arbitration. This honor may become an unalterable and brilliant glory if England remains faithful to the initiative which she has taken. A dispute of long standing has just broken out between her and the little state of the Transvaal. This is the crucial test! This is the opportunity for an action strengthening the declarations of the government. \* \* \* Will England, after three months, take two contradictory initiatives? Will she resort to the machinery of The Hague to declare war at Pretoria? No—that seems impossible. She will not condemn herself. She will not, with her own hands, tear up the peace-making

document which she has hardly drawn up; she will not make the world resound with the noise of battle on the morrow of the day when she held up before its eyes the shining sign, so long expected, of justice and peace-making."

Great Britain, however, insisted upon her demand for the five years' franchise, and, by way of offsetting her claim to the suzerainty of 1881, offered to guarantee the Boers against outside attack.

Mr. Chamberlain shrewdly referred in his dispatch to the obligations of the Transvaal under the "conventions." This use of the plural was proof of the State Secretary's insistence that the preamble to the Conventions of 1881 (wherein suzerainty was expressed), had been transferred to the head of the resolutions of 1884, in which the word "suzerainty" does not occur. This claim was never admitted by the Republic, and was condemned by many Englishmen.

It was proclaimed in some quarters that if the South African Republic rejected this fair offer the British troops in South Africa were to be increased to 70,000, or even more, and, when completed, their work would leave no enemies in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, among the Cape Dutch, or any natives who dared to raise a hand against the British flag.

It is never diplomatic to be hasty, and the Boers were slow in replying to the British dispatch, which concluded with a threat that if the reply was not satisfactory to Great Britain, she would again change the issue, and, abandoning all discussion of the franchise issue, would formulate new demands, which would be less favorable to Boer wishes.

All admit the natural diplomatic ability of President Kruger and his associates, but the best friends of the Boers agree that they

now committed one of the gravest of blunders, whereby they fatally weakened their position.

It has been shown that they had numerous and powerful friends in England, all of whom were in the ranks of the Liberal party. The aid of these friends was indispensable. President Kruger and his counselors should have deferred to the judgment of these friends at court, who were rapidly educating the public up to the point of opposing ill considered action. One cannot help believing that, if the Boers had made none of their preparations for war, but appealed to the fairness of the plain people of England, the response would have been all they could reasonably ask. Could that illustrious and virtuous Queen, who sits upon the throne at the close of almost two generations of beneficent rule and whose horror of war is well known, have closed her ears to the appeal of the Boers, had it been made under the conditions named? Nothing was clearer than that the "plain people" desired no war with them, and had the Boers placed their reliance wholly upon this sentiment and feeling the staff would have proved a sure one.

However, it is useless to speculate over what might or might not have been. The last vestige of doubt as to the object of Great Britain was removed by the reception of Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch. The feeling in South Africa was that no compromise remained possible, and that the struggle for independence was to be fought out to the end. A wave of war excitement swept over the Republic and the Orange Free State, and the demand was almost irrestrainable for an opening of hostilities. On the 28th of September, the Orange Free State announced that it would support the Transvaal in the event of a war with Great Britain,

and on October 4th, the British Parliament authorized the immediate expenditure of \$15,000,000 for moving troops and munitions to South Africa. On the following day, 2,500 troops were landed in Natal, and two days later a royal proclamation ordered the mobilization of the British reserves.

One matter must be mentioned at this point. More than once it was hinted in the peace papers of England that the underlying motive of the British Government throughout the negotiations was the suppression of what, they had good reason to believe, was a far-reaching conspiracy for the establishment of a Dutch federation from the Zambesi to the Cape. This assertion was made by Mr. Chamberlain, who said that it could not be brought before the public, since the government's objects might be misinterpreted. He referred, in support of this view, to the action of the Free State and to that of the Afrikander members of the Cape Legislature, which, it would seem, afforded some justification of the view.

The members of the Volksraad looked upon the British notes as subterfuges to gain time in which to concentrate their troops for the invasion and conquest of the country. They urged the government to adjourn the Raad immediately and to send Great Britain a note declaring that further mobilization would be regarded as an unfriendly act. The veteran General Joubert advised patience and moderation, and in reply it was plainly intimated that, if he shrank from taking the initiative, there were plenty of competent officers eager to step into his place.

Naturally, it was believed that the first important attempt of the British would be the capture of Pretoria, their capital, and no time was lost in adding to its strength. Trenches, earthworks and sand-bag defenses were erected at all the approaches to the city;

messages were sent through the country calling upon the people to be ready for war, and the excitement became more intense than before.

On October 10 the South African Republic sent its ultimatum to Great Britain, and it was like a bolt from the clear sky. The full text of this important document follows:

"Sir: The Government of the South African Republic feels compelled to refer the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland once more to the Convention of London of 1884, concluded between this Republic and the United Kingdom. Its fourteenth article secures certain specified rights to the white population of this Republic, namely, that (here follows Article XIV of the Convention of London of 1884).

"This Government wishes further to observe that the above are the only rights which Her Majesty's Government has reserved in the above convention in regard to the Uitlander population of this Republic, and that a violation only of those rights could give that Government the right of diplomatic representations or intervention, while, moreover, the regulation of all other questions affecting the position or rights of the Uitlander population under the above mentioned convention, is handed over to the Government and representatives of the people of the South African Republic.

"Among the questions, the regulation of which falls exclusively within the competence of this Government and Volksraad, are included those of the franchise and the representation of the people in this Republic, and although thus the exclusive right of this Government and Volksraad for the regulation of that franchise and representation is indisputable, yet this Government has found occasion to discuss, in a friendly fashion, the franchise and

representation of the people with Her Majesty's Government, without, however, recognizing any right thereto on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

"This Government has also, by the formulation of the now existing Franchise law, and the resolution in regard to representation, constantly held these friendly discussions before its eyes. On the part of Her Majesty's Government, however, the friendly nature of these discussions has assumed a more and more threatening tone, and the minds of the people of this Republic and the whole of South Africa have been excited, and a condition of extreme tension has been created, while Her Majesty's Government could no longer agree to the legislation respecting the franchise and the resolution respecting representation in this Republic, and, finally, by your note of September 25, 1899, broke off all friendly correspondence on the subject and intimated that it must now proceed to formulate its own proposals for a final settlement.

"This Government can only see in the above intimation from Her Majesty's Government a new violation of the Convention of London of 1884, which does not reserve to Her Majesty's Government the right to a unilateral settlement of a question which is an exclusively domestic one for this Government, and has already been regulated by it.

"On account of the strained situation and the consequent serious loss in and interruption of trade in general, which the correspondence respecting the franchise and representation in this Republic carried in its train, Her Majesty's Government has recently pressed for an early settlement and finally pressed for an answer within forty-eight hours, subsequently somewhat modified, to your note of September 12, replied to by the note of this Government of

September 15, and your note of September 25, and thereafter further friendly negotiations broke off, and this Government received an intimation that a proposal for a final settlement would shortly be made. But, although this promise was once more repeated, no proposal has now reached this Government.

"Even while friendly correspondence was still going on an increase of troops on a large scale was introduced by Her Majesty's Government and they were stationed in the neighborhood of the borders of this Republic. Having regard to occurrences in the history of this Republic which it is unnecessary here to call to mind, this Government felt obliged to regard this military force in the neighborhood of its borders as a threat against the independence of the South African Republic, since it is aware of no circumstance to justify the presence of such a military force in South Africa and in the neighborhood of its borders.

"In response to an inquiry in respect thereto, addressed to the British High Commissioner, this Government received, to its great astonishment, a veiled insinuation that from the side of the Republic an attack might be made on Her Majesty's colonies, and at the same time a mysterious reference to possibilities, by which it was strengthened in the suspicion that the independence of this Republic was being threatened.

"As a defensive measure it, therefore, was obliged to send a portion of the burghers of this Republic in order to offer requisite resistance to similar possibilities.

"The dispatch lays stress on the fact that the military preparations and action of Great Britain have caused an intolerable condition of affairs throughout South Africa. Therefore, it

says the Transvaal Government is compelled earnestly to press Her Majesty's Government to give assurances on the following points:

"First. That all points of mutual difference be regulated by friendly recourse to arbitration, or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by this Government and Her Majesty's Government.

"Second. That all troops on the borders of this Republic shall be instantly withdrawn.

"Third. That all reinforcements of troops which have arrived in South Africa since June 1, 1899, shall be removed from South Africa within a reasonable time, to be agreed upon with this Government and with the mutual assurance and guarantee on the part of this Government that no attack upon, or hostilities against any portion of the possessions of the British government shall be made by this Republic during the further negotiations, within a period of time to be subsequently agreed upon between the governments, and this Government will, on compliance therewith, be prepared to withdraw the armed burghers of this Republic from the borders.

"Fourth. That Her Majesty's troops, which are now on the high seas, shall not be landed in any part of South Africa."

The Ultimatum ends as follows:

"This Government must press for an immediate affirmative answer to these four questions, and earnestly requests Her Majesty's Government to return such answer before or on October 11, 1899, not later than five P. M.

"It desires, further, to add that in the unexpected event that no satisfactory answer is received in that interval, it will be compelled, with great regret, to regard the action of Her Majesty's

Government as a formal declaration of war, and will not hold itself responsible for the consequences thereof.

"And in the event of any further movements of troops within the above time in a nearer direction to our borders, this Government will be compelled to regard that as a formal declaration of war.

F. W. REITZ, State Secretary."

It was a daring act on the part of the little republic thus to beard the lion in his den, but the Boers did not intend to wait until the vast armies of Great Britain were landed on her soil.

The text of the ultimatum was received in London on the morning of October 10, and the answer was demanded by five P. M. of the following day. As might have been anticipated Great Britain refused to discuss the audacious document. On the 17th Parliament was opened in extraordinary session to consider the South African situation. The Queen's speech was as follows:

"**MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN:** Within a very brief period after the recent prorogation I am compelled by events deeply affecting the interests of my empire to recur to your advice and aid. The state of affairs in South Africa makes it expedient that my government should be enabled to strengthen the military forces of this country by calling out the reserves. For this purpose the provisions of the law render it necessary that Parliament should be called together. Except for the difficulties that have been caused by the action of the South African Republic, the condition of the world continues to be peaceful.

"**GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:** Measures will be laid before you for the purpose of providing for an expenditure which has been or may be caused by events in South Africa. The estimates for the ensuing year will be submitted to you in due course.

**BLUE JACKETS BATTERING THE BOERS AT LADYSMITH.**

NATIVE DISPATCH CARRIER OVERTAKEN BY BOERS.

"**MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN:** There are many subjects of domestic interest to which your interest will be invited at a later period when the ordinary season for the labors of a parliamentary session has been reached. For the present I have invited your attention in order to ask you to deal with an exceptional exigency, and I pray that in performing the duties which claim your attention you may have the guidance and blessing of Almighty God."

There was an immense crowd in the House of Commons when the session was resumed. The customary address in reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Sir Alexander Aclan-Hood, Conservative, which was seconded by Mr. Royds, a Unionist member. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannermann, speaking in behalf of the opposition, said the demands of the Transvaal government were couched in such language that it was impossible for any self-respecting country to consider them, and he assured the government that his followers would offer no obstacles to the granting of the supplies necessary to the rapid and effective prosecution of the war.

The speaker insisted that the essential grievances of the foreigners in the Transvaal had been removed, and the British position in South Africa made England responsible for its quiet and content. The civil negotiations he regarded, to some extent, as a game of bluff, unworthy of a great nation, and not likely to be successful with the Boers, and he asked Mr. A. J. Balfour, the government leader of the house of commons, for assurances that the government was not actuated by any unworthy desire to avenge former military disasters, or to establish the political superiority of Englishmen over Dutchmen.

Mr. Balfour warmly replied, repudiating the suggestion that Great Britain had goaded the Boers into war by flaunting suzerainty

before them, or that she had been engaged in a game of bluff, adding that the country had never gone to war on an issue which was more clearly one of righteousness and liberty.

Sir Charles Dilke, Radical, said he had not a particle of sympathy for the thick-headed toryism of the Boers in their treatment of the Uitlanders. It was impossible to refuse the gauntlet they had thrown down, but he regarded with grave doubt, the sacrifices imposed on his country. He foresaw the future strain upon the British military system in maintaining garrisons in South Africa, which might lead to the neglect of the navy.

Mr. John Dillon, anti-Parnellite, moved an amendment to the address, to the effect that the war had been caused by Great Britain claiming the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal in direct violation of the convention, and by her massing troops on the frontiers. He insisted upon independent friendly arbitration. Mr. Dillon's amendment was rejected by a vote of 322 to 54.

In the House of Lords, the Earl of Kimberley, the Liberal leader of that body, said the government could not have sent any other reply than they did to the extraordinary ultimatum of the Transvaal. He added: "There are some points in the negotiations, however, which I have not viewed with satisfaction. The negotiations have not been conducted in a prudent, and certainly not in a successful, manner. My own interpretation of the word 'suzerainty' is that there are in the London Convention certain stipulations which limit British sovereignty in the Transvaal, and that, to the extent of these limitations, there is constituted 'suzerainty.'"

The Premier, the Marquis of Salisbury, replying to Lord Kimberley's criticism of the negotiations, said:

"The Boer government were pleased to dispense with any explanation on our part respecting the causes or justification of the war. They have done what no provocation on our part could have justified. They have done what the strongest nation has never in its strength done to any opponent it had challenged. They issued a defiance so audacious that I could scarcely depict it without using words unsuited for this assembly, and by so doing they liberated this country from the necessity of explaining to the people of England why we are at war. But for this, no one could have predicted that we would ever be at war.

"There have been very grave questions between us, but up to the time of the ultimatum, the modes we had suggested of settling them were successful, and the spirit in which we were met was encouraging. We lately had hoped that the future had in reserve for us a better fate.

"It was largely due to the character of Mr. Kruger, and to the ideas pursued by him, that we have been led step by step to the present moment, when we are compelled to decide whether the future of South Africa will be a growing Dutch supremacy or a safe, perfectly established supremacy of the English people."

The Premier concluded by dealing briefly with the government's future policy in South Africa, declaring that, while there must be no doubt as to the paramountcy of the sovereign power of Great Britain, there must also be no doubt that the white races in South Africa would be put upon an equality, and due precautions taken for the "philanthropic," friendly and improving treatment of those countless indigenous races of whose destiny, I fear, we have hitherto been too forgetful.

"Those things must be insisted upon in future," exclaimed Lord Salisbury. "By what means they are to be obtained, I do not know. I hope they may be consistent with the very large amount of autonomy on the part of the race which values its individual share in government as much as the Dutch people do. But with that question we are not concerned now. We have only to make it clear that the great objects essential to the power of England in South Africa, to the good government of South Africa and to the rights of all the races concerned, are the objects of the British government, objects which, with the full support of the nation and without distinction of party, the government are now pursuing, and which they will pursue and persevere in to the end.

"But now all question of possible peace, all question of justifying the attitude we had assumed, and all question of pointing out the errors and the grave oppression of which the Transvaal government have been guilty, all these questions have been wiped away in this one great insult, which leaves us no other course than the one which has received the assent of the whole nation and which it is our desire to carry out.

"It is a satisfactory feature of our policy during these latter days that on questions involving the vital interests and honor of the country there are no distinctions of party."

His lordship said he believed that a desire to get rid of the word "suzerainty" and the reality which it expressed, had been the controlling desire of President Kruger's life. It was for that that the president of the Transvaal had set up the negotiations of 1884, and, in order to get that hateful word out of the convention, he had made considerable sacrifices. Mr. Kruger had used oppression

of the Uitlanders as a screw to obtain a concession on the subject of suzerainty.

The premier added :

"I quite agree that the word 'suzerainty' is not necessary for Great Britain's present purpose. Situated as Great Britain is in South Africa toward the Transvaal and the Uitlanders, she has a duty to fulfill which has nothing to do with any convention or any question of suzerainty. This word, however, being put into the treaty, obtained an artificial value and meaning which have prevented Great Britain from entirely abandoning it. If Great Britain dropped it she would be intimating that she also repudiated and abandoned the ideas attached to it.

The opportunity was offered the United States to return the courtesy shown by Great Britain in the late war with Spain. At the request of Her Majesty's government, the United States consuls in South Africa were directed to look after British interests in that section during the continuance of the war.

Now that Great Britain was fairly launched into the war, her people rallied to her support. Those who had been the strongest friends of the Transvaal, so long as negotiations were under way, and there was promise of a peaceful solution, saw that the ultimatum from Pretoria left but one course open to them. The wish was that, since the war had come, it would be pressed to the quickest possible conclusion, for when one has a bad job on hand, he cannot get through it too promptly.

On the afternoon of the 16th, an enthusiastic meeting of members of the London Stock Exchange was held at the Guildhall to approve of the government's policy in South Africa. Four hundred brokers, carrying the Union Jack and the Royal Standard, marched

to the hall, where the meeting was opened with the singing of the national anthem. A resolution was proposed, and warmly supported by Samuel Stewart Gladstone, Governor of the Bank of England, declaring that, while the meeting deplored the war, the responsibility for it rested upon the Transvaal government. The resolution which was adopted, assured the government of the cordial and enthusiastic support of the citizens of London in its course of claiming and insisting on equal rights of all the white races in South Africa.

## CHAPTER XX

### THE CONTESTANTS AND FIRST BLOWS

It may be well at this point to consider the respective military powers of Great Britain on one side, and the forces of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State on the other. It is not necessary to state that Great Britain is the overwhelming superior power on the sea. While she cannot bring her magnificent war ships directly into the contest as opposed to the Boers, who have no navy, yet these naval resources have served England in good stead. Her many ships have been utilized to transport troops and munitions of war, and, in this way, she has been enabled to quickly put into South Africa a vast army. The resources of England as to money are practically unlimited. Her power to create an offensive force is to a great extent limited by the loyalty of her colonies. To increase the regular army of England she must call upon the colonies for aid. They might give her thousands of additional troops, and certainly a vast army could be raised in the empire for purely defensive purposes. As to whether her colonial sons will offer up their lives to the mother country in large numbers, in an offensive war, is a question which must be settled by developments. It has been stated that an army of two hundred thousand men is all that England can hope to put into South Africa, without seriously affecting the forces needed for the defense of other portions of the Empire. England, as one of the great powers of the world, if not the greatest, occupies a position where jealousy and hatred would pour out wrath upon her if

other nations dared to undertake the contest. These nations are only withheld by the evidence of England's forces, and to withdraw the military symbol of her great reserve power, from her far distant possessions, is only to give confidence to the tentative enemy.

The population of the South African Republic is stated to be barely a quarter of a million; that of the Orange Free State about two hundred thousand. While no exact figures have been given out as to the military strength of the Boers, it is thought that if they put an army of thirty-five thousand men in the field that this would represent the maximum of their strength. There might be an accretion to this number by disaffection among the Boers in Cape Colony and Natal. The latter are bound by ties of blood to their struggling brothers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and, if not an openly expressed hope, it has been the dream and the ardent desire of every Boer in South Africa, whether a subject of England or a citizen of the Republics, to eventually form a great Dutch republic in South Africa in which there will be no English control, interference or domination.

The Boers gather strength from their innate hatred of the English, and from their belief that they can make a triumph for Great Britain so costly that that country will be unwilling to pay the price. In other words, the Boers hope that the expenditure of treasure and lives by England necessary to conquer them, will compel that country to halt and make terms, as she did at Majuba Hill. That there is some sound philosophy in this Boer way of thinking is proven by the experience of the North in the war of the rebellion. The greatest danger that threatened the North was not when the advantages were with the confederates. The great danger came after the tremendous Union victories at Vicksburg

and Gettysburg. The former was decisive and was really the deathblow of the Confederacy, but a year later, when a greenback dollar was worth only about thirty cents and wholesale drafting was necessary to fill the depleted ranks, tens of thousands of brave men lying dead in the graves of Southern battlefields, the people began to ask one another the ominous question:

“Are we not paying too high a price for the Union? Have we not shed enough blood? Is it not time to give up the struggle in which our losses are so appalling and which have cast a shadow over thousands of hearts and homes?”

It was in the summer of 1864 that the “dead point” in the war for the Union was reached by the national government and when thoughtful men saw that unless the rebellion was subdued within the following twelve months it would never be subdued at all. Thank God it was suppressed and the Union restored.

Some such hope as this has inspired the Boers and the mutual jealousy of Germany, France and Russia, whom the Boers have vaguely hoped might find an excuse for intervention, has worked to give them greater courage.

But more inspiring than these motives has been the child-like faith and fanatical patriotism of the Boers. After their wonderful charge up Majuba hill in the previous war, General Joubert was complimented on the brilliant exploit. His simple reply was:

“It was God who did it, not we.”

The Boer leaders are not only hard fighters, but strategists possessed of great military ability. They had the best of modern weapons and the vast advantage of having their whole strength in hand and at immediate command, while Great Britain’s force in

the country was so slight that it required weeks to transport sufficient troops to warrant her in taking the aggressive.

At the initiative, therefore, the Boers had the most powerful force on the scene and it was only in the natural order of events that the war should open with a vigor on their part which gave them a distinct advantage, though some of their successes were deeply humiliating to England.

The embodiment of the militia and the calling out of the militia reserves in Great Britain added more than fifty per cent. to the military resources of the kingdom and placed her on a footing which she has not held since the war against Napoleon when she had at one time under her colors more than 600,000 men. According to official reports filed in the War Department in Washington the active army of Great Britain in 1895 consisted of 219,000 officers and men, of whom about a third were serving in India, while 90,000 were retained in the British Isles, including the Channel Islands, the rest being distributed among the colonies and the military stations scattered over the world.

When the army corps and the 25,000 reserves of the English regular army, which were called out should reach the Cape, they, with the contingent already there and the Anglo-Indian contingent expected to arrive, would give Sir Redvers Buller a force almost double that under the Boer commanders. But he, too, was threatened by the necessity of detaching a considerable part of his army for garrison and police duty in the Cape Colony with a still graver peril threatening in the event of an uprising among the Afrikanders of that colony, who number more than a quarter of a million. No doubt the embodiment of the militia and the calling out of the militia reserves in the United Kingdom was, to some extent, a

precaution against this contingency. It might be supposed by some that the measure was intended as a warning to the other European powers not to interfere in the quarrel.

It will be understood, therefore, how it was that the Boers, by striking quick and hard, gained more than one striking advantage at the start. It was generally expected about the middle of October, that a battle would be fought to the westward of Ladysmith, but, for a time, the operations were confined to outpost skirmishing, both armies acting with great caution. A dispatch, dated at Ladysmith on the 19th, was to the effect that the Boers had captured a train conveying several officers and a number of soldiers and civilians to Glencoe. They compelled another train to stop, and they cut the telegraph communication between Ladysmith and Glencoe. Matters were rapidly approaching a crisis.

About this time a noteworthy incident occurred in the House of Commons, where, during a debate, Secretary Chamberlain in reply to charges, hotly denied having had any communication with Cecil Rhodes at the time of the Jameson raid. He admitted saying in 1896, that it would be immoral to resort to war in order to force internal reforms, but, considering the whole later history of the Transvaal troubles, he had come to the belief that war was always inevitable. He accused the Pretoria government of having aided President Steyn, of the Orange Free State, and of having, since 1881, conspired against Great Britain as the paramount power of South Africa.

According to the British dispatches, which, it must be remembered, were censored, the first serious action between the British and the Boers was fought in the immediate neighborhood of the British camp at Glencoe on the 20th, and resulted in a defeat of

the Boers. Later, dispatches showed that the Boers devised their attack with skill, their purpose being to attack Glencoe by three columns simultaneously, with a force aggregating 9,000 men.

The first column, under General Erasmus, left the large Boer camp on the Igagane River and halted at Hattingsspruit, on the main road between Baunhausen and Glencoe. The second and most powerful column, commanded by Gen. Lucas Meyer, made a long detour and took up a position on Smith's Hill, commanding the Glencoe camp. The third column, consisting mainly of Free State burghers, under Commandant Viljoen, advanced from Waschbank on the railway south of Glencoe, destroying railway and telegraphic communication between Glencoe and Ladysmith.

General Joubert's instructions were that General Erasmus should lure the whole British force on the northern road toward Hattingsspruit, and while it was engaged in the easy task of destroying General Erasmus' forces, Viljoen and Meyer were to attack its flank and rear and annihilate it. General Symons, the British commander, penetrated this design and governed himself accordingly, but the plan of the Boers failed. They lost telegraphic touch between the three columns, which, therefore, advanced disjointedly, and General Meyer opened the battle before the column from Hattingsspruit was within striking distance, while Commandant Viljoen was still further south. Thus Meyer, with only 4,000 men, was compelled to bear the brunt of the battle.

Only one-half of General Symons' force of 4,000, attacked the hill, the remainder being held in position behind the camp watching events. When the fighting had continued for two hours and a half, advance detachments of the Hattingsspruit column were discovered lining the hill to the west of the camp. A battery

behind the British camp opened fire with such effect that the Boers were scattered. Thus the Hattingsspruit column was kept out of the action, except as it was fired upon by the artillery, and later, when it came in contact with the hussars and mounted infantry, who were pursuing General Myer's column as it retreated from the hill.

The first incident of the battle occurred at earliest daybreak, when the pickets exchanged a few shots two miles outside the camp. At half-past five, the Boers fired the opening shot from a battery on the hill. It dropped in Dundee but did no damage. A few minutes later, all the Boer guns were at work, shell after shell falling into the camp and town. Although the range was good, hardly a shell burst. A quarter of an hour later, the British replied, all their shells exploding and working great havoc. The range at first was 5,000 yards and the British guns were fired with wonderful accuracy, many of the shells landing and bursting on the exact spot. At the end of half an hour, the Boer guns were silenced, though many of the men remained to protect the probable line of assault.

Then General Symons ordered the infantry to advance. The King's Royal Rifles and the Dublin Fusileers were at the front. They covered two miles of broken ground, during which there was a strange lull in the battle. Resting for a few minutes, they began the ascent, while the batteries moved to new positions and again took up the fight. The bombardment was severe and was maintained for an hour, notwithstanding which the Boers kept up a brisk fire from their Maxims, but were driven out and compelled to retreat before the spirited charge of their enemy.

By examining the map, it will be observed that Glencoe is on a line of railway running from Laing's Neck to Ladysmith and so

on to Durban, the principal port of Natal. Glencoe is about forty miles north of Ladysmith and a branch line of railway runs from Glencoe to Dundee, twenty miles distant. The location is, therefore, of considerable strategic importance.

The news of the battle was received in England as a victory, but as the particulars filtered in, it became evident that it was one of those victories that are as expensive to the winners as to the defeated. The Boers, owing to their inferiority of numbers, were obliged to retire, but the British suffered so severely that on the approach of the main body of the army under General Joubert, they abandoned their position and General Yule and his men marched to Ladysmith. It appeared that the British left their sick and wounded to the generosity of the Boers, not being able to effect the retreat hampered by their care. Among the mortally wounded was General Symons, who died on October 25, and was buried the following day close to the English church at Dundee. Commandant-General Joubert immediately notified General White of the sad event, and sent a message of sympathy to Lady Symons.

Gen. Sir William Penn Symons, K. C. B., was born in Cornwall in 1843, entering the army in 1863 and becoming a colonel in 1887. He served in the Zulu war in 1879 and for his gallantry received a medal and clasp. Later he saw service in Burmah and India and won another medal and clasp. In 1898, he commanded the Sirhind district, Punjab, India.

The battle of Glencoe was a fine exhibition of British generalship and superb courage, but all it accomplished was to save General Yule's force from annihilation or capture, and to permit it to retreat by forced marches to the main army at Ladysmith, where it arrived completely fagged out.

Thirty men of the Eighteenth Hussars attempted on Sunday, the 22d, to cut off the Boers who had been routed at Elandslaagte, but were themselves cut off, captured and taken prisoners to Pretoria. They received courteous treatment, and when they left the train in the presence of an immense crowd, no demonstration was made against them.

At this time there were rumors in different quarters of armed European intervention. M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador, was ordered by his government to return to Washington, in consequence of developments connected with the Transvaal war. This, it was said, was done on the representations made to the French Cabinet to have some one at our capital who was *persona grata* to President McKinley during the sensitive times. The belief in Paris was that the real difficulties would begin when the Boers were beaten, since all the powers fully understand the law of compensations as taught by Great Britain, a master of the art.

The members of the European embassies and legations in Washington, sounded one another to learn what warrant there was for the reports that a movement was on foot to form a continental coalition to mediate between Great Britain and the Transvaal. So far as known there was no official warrant at all to confirm these rumors. No approach was made to the United States to act in the matter, and it is safe to say that simple gratitude to Great Britain for her course in our war with Spain, would prevent our government taking any steps that could be deemed in the slightest degree unfriendly toward her.

The chief interest in the military situation now centered on Ladysmith, which had become the real head of the British occupation of Natal, north of the Tugela River. The momentous question

was whether General White would be compelled to evacuate this position, as Dundee had been evacuated by General Yule, or whether he could hold out against the Boers until reinforcements reached him. The anxiety shown by Sir George White to keep his right flank clear, proved that he feared a turning movement in that direction.

Meanwhile, there was stirring news from Mafeking, over on the other side of the Republic. The Boers opened a bombardment, without decisive results, and continued to close in around Kimberley, for whose safety much anxiety was felt.

A brief lull followed, though there were a number of minor skirmishes, in which marked bravery was displayed by both sides, even though nothing important was accomplished. Lord Rosebery made an important speech at Bath, in the course of which he said:

“Our minds are turned to the southern continent, where so much of the best blood of England is being shed. My advice is to trust the men at the helm when we are passing through a storm. It was well to present a united front to the enemy. It would be time enough when the war was over, to examine any questions of liability. All such questions had been wiped out by the ultimatum of the Boers.”

In his opinion the Transvaal question was not a very complicated one; it was the effort of a community to put back the clock. He recommended that the people of this country should take Chatham’s advice: “Be one people; forget everything for the public.” This was no little war, but as Shakespeare said:

“Naught shall make us rue,  
If England to herself remain but true.”

In his speech, Lord Rosebery made one significant reference to

**CHARGE OF THE GUARDS AT BELMONT.**

THE LIGHT SIDE OF WARFARE—DRAWING THE ENEMY'S FIRE.

Europe's attitude toward Great Britain. He said he would not say, for he did not know, that the governments of Europe were unfriendly to England, but it was unquestionable that the press of European countries and public opinion, so far as the press represents it, were almost uniformly hostile. He added:

"Depend upon it, there are nations in Europe who are watching, with an eagerness which should give you cause to reflect, for every trip and stumble, much more, for every disaster, that may overtake the British arms, and when that is the condition of things, a war waged under such circumstances, is not a little war. We have so much on our shoulders, such heavy work to do, so much sail to carry, that we cannot, at this critical juncture, afford to waste time in polemical discussions. I know that this is unpopular doctrine, but it would be improper to omit mentioning it."

No matter in what sort of war a nation is engaged, it is always ready to appeal to heaven for success, with the assumption that its cause is so righteous a one that there is no doubt of Divine favor. It was the great and good President Lincoln, who, in reply to the question whether he believed the Lord was on his side, said his chief anxiety was to make sure that he was on the Lord's side.

In her speech to the House of Commons on October 27th, Queen Victoria said:

"I am happy to release you from the exceptional duties imposed upon you by the exigencies of the public service.

"I congratulate you on the brilliant qualities displayed by the brave regiments upon whom the task of repelling the invasion of my South African colonies has been laid. In doing so I cannot but express profound sorrow that so many gallant officers and soldiers should have fallen in the performance of their duty.

"I acknowledge gratefully the liberal provision made to defray the expenses of the military operations. I trust the Divine blessing may rest on your effort and that of the gallant army to restore peace and good government to that portion of my empire, and vindicate the honor of this country."

Sir George White in command at Ladysmith showed that he expected serious work, for he brought up all the available troops at Pietermaritzburg and had all his artillery with him. The reports from Cape Town and Lorenzo Marquez made it look doubtful whether the Boer army was able to undertake any offensive operations against the entrenched camp at Ladysmith; but it was necessary for their leaders to make an effort to clear the country between the Drakenberg Mountains and the Tugela River before reinforcements could arrive from England, in order that a successful resistance could be offered to the advance, sure to be made later on.

The difficulty in the matter of transport under which Great Britain labored would soon be remedied, for large numbers of mules, purchased in Italy and elsewhere, were on their way to Durban. Many of those animals were also bought in the United States by agents of Great Britain. If the Boers failed in their attack upon Ladysmith or in the attempt to turn the English position, they would be obliged to fall back to their first lines of defense in the Drakenberg, and in the triangle holding the battlefields of the previous war.

As the cold facts of the military operations became clear to the minds of the Englishmen at home, they determined to "put the business through" no matter at what cost. While it was undoubtedly true that no power or group of powers had agreed upon

intervention, Lord Rosebery was undoubtedly right when he said such intervention was likely to follow upon any grave disaster to British arms. The importance, therefore, of extreme care in the conduct of the campaign in the Transvaal was self-evident. To take risks was criminal when the consequences of defeat were likely to be far-reaching and tremendous in their importance. The plan was for the British forces to remain substantially on the defensive until the arrival of reinforcements that would make them irresistible.

It was natural that Holland should feel an active sympathy for the Boers. This was shown by her raising funds for them, by the dispatch secretly of supplies, and finally authentic word came to England that a corps, numbering a thousand men, had been secretly raised in Holland to help the Boers in the war. The money required for equipment and transport was furnished by wealthy Amsterdam merchants. Since this proceeding was a violation of international law, great caution was necessary, but the Dutchmen proved themselves equal to the demands of the occasion. The men left home in small detachments, the rendezvous being at Koomati Poort, on the Transvaal-Portuguese frontier, where the commandant had been informed what to do with them. They traveled as returning Transvaal citizens, an artifice which prevented the Portuguese authorities from interfering with them. The only active sympathizers, in addition to those mentioned, were a number of German officers on the retired list, who made their way to the Transvaal, under an arrangement to provide their own transportation to Koomati Poort, their pay dating from the time they entered the actual service of the Republic. These officers acted from mere professional motives, for in all wars there are plenty of men who

enlist through a longing for excitement and the desire to add to their modest stipend.

Considerable criticism was made upon the Boer hospital service, but this was unjust, since the same could have been made upon the British service at Glencoe, where both were so overtaxed by the results of the first fight that many poor fellows lay all night in the rain before attention could be given to them. The Transvaal had the Red Cross Society and the St. John's Ambulance Society as helpers to the regular military corps. The hurry of the hostilities prevented as perfect an organization as would have been the case had more time been at command. When war broke out, several railway trains were fitted with swinging beds and all the modern conveniences were called into use to alleviate the sufferings of the wounded. A field hospital was attached to every commando and the hospital headquarters fixed at Pretoria, whither all the wounded burghers within reach of the railway were sent at the earliest possible moment. Also, everything was done to provide nurses, while a general movement for the aid of the British wounded took place in London, many titled men and women contributing generously to the merciful enterprise.

As full accounts of the retreat of General Yule from Dundee reached England, it looked as if the Boers had lost one of the best chances that the campaign was likely to offer them. Sir General White at Ladysmith had not sufficient troops to detach a strong enough force toward Glencoe to create a diversion in favor of General Yule, who was making desperate efforts to reach him. Had the Free State burghers made a prompt advance from Besters on the Van Reenen's Pass road, they would have placed Yule in the most critical situation possible, and with the Boers alert at Dundee

in following up the retreating British with a mounted force with light artillery, they could have retarded the retreat sufficiently to allow a good part of their main body to come up and compel Yule to fight a rear-guard action, with defeat and irretrievable disaster before him. It was a grand opportunity, which the Boers let slip, leaving them to solve the formidable problem of how to drive the British across the Tugela before their reinforcements could arrive.

The force under Sir George White at Ladysmith was given as about 20,000, which, it would seem, was sufficient to enable him to hold his position against any troops his enemy could bring against him. But all England was startled and shocked on the last day of October, when a dispatch from Ladysmith was received announcing a disaster to British arms in front of that town. This involved the capture of two regiments and a battery, after great slaughter. It marked the third successful attempt by the Boers to deceive the British officers by pretending to retreat and then deliver a blow that turned a seeming victory into a disastrous rout. The following is the dispatch of General White dated at 11:35 P. M.:

"I have to report disaster to the column sent by me to take position on a hill and guard our left flank. The troops in these operations to-day—the Royal Irish Fusiliers, No. 10 Mountain Battery and the Gloucestershire Regiment—had to capitulate. The casualties have not yet been ascertained.

"A man belonging to the Irish Fusiliers and employed as a hospital orderly, came in under a flag of truce with a letter from the survivors, who asked assistance to bury their dead. I fear there is no doubt of the truth of the report.

"I formed the plan, in the carrying out of which the disaster occurred, and am alone responsible for that plan. No blame can

be attached to the troops, as the position was untenable. The list included forty-two officers, one newspaper man and two battalions of troops."

It was given out that among the prisoners captured were a staff-major, a lieutenant-colonel, six majors, five captains, twenty-nine lieutenants, a chaplain and a newspaper correspondent. The number 2,000 was first announced as the total of prisoners, but this was considerably reduced in the accounts afterward received.

That General White had committed a serious error of judgment his best friends could not deny; but his manly avowal disarmed harsh criticism, while the most experienced officers truly said that no one not on the ground, or fully acquainted with the particulars, was competent to make up an intelligent judgment. The best exponents of public feeling at such times are the leading newspapers, who naturally were outspoken in expressing their sentiments.

The *Standard* said: "It cannot be doubted that a grave error was made, nor is military knowledge needed to recognize the character of the blunder. The position in which the lost battalions were posted was radically vicious, and precautions to cover their retreat were not taken. Moreover, they were not kept in touch with the column. General White is now on the horns of a dilemma. If he retires down the railway he will have to abandon his wounded and his stores. If he stays in Ladysmith the road will be cut, if it is not cut already, and he will be isolated."

The *News* said that Lord Rosebery's remark that the war would not be a small one, will now be made more than ever good. The capture of the battalions will undoubtedly tend to prolong the struggle, by raising the spirits and encouraging the hopes of the enemy who, in any case, are sure to be resolute and courageous,

and who are already able, with much justice, to point to very considerable success. The reverse, the paper adds, will only increase the determination of the British to see the war through to the necessary and inevitable end.

The *Morning Post* said: "The lesson has been severe, but we hope we have learned it. It is humiliating to find a nation of farmers beating soldiers at their own game, but the sooner proper respect is had for Boer strategy and Boer tactics the better for our fortunes in Natal. We insist that there is need for caution in fighting a people who have a natural aptitude for deception, and who are quite fearless in war. That caution, no doubt, seems to the professional fighter as somewhat beneath his dignity when he is arrayed against a seedy old gentleman in a billycock hat and muffler, but that caution must be learned, and that soon."

The *Post* would not believe that the troops capitulated. "Capitulation," it said, "is a word of shame. Troops in the field cannot capitulate without disgrace. We assume, until better informed, that the column fought until it was cut to pieces, and its ammunition gone; that the ground rendered the use of the bayonet impossible, and when their officers were struck down the remnant of the men surrendered. If this is not the case, then October 30 will be a day of indelible disgrace."

The *Chronicle* declared that the repulse was comparable only to the repulse of Burgoyne, which was traveling backward a long way to find a parallel. It added:

"For the present there can be but one voice in the country. We have been told that this is a war for British supremacy in South Africa, and we cannot doubt that that supremacy is now threatened. The conflict will therefore inevitably continue until it

places the empire in a position to dictate the terms of settlement. The trial which is now upon us will, we hope, strike a sober, serious cord of the country's heart. An ignoble mood had grown out of our prosperity, fed by a press which has much to answer for when the account of these latter days is made up. If the present catastrophe calls forth something better than music-hall patriotism we may come to reckon it as a timely lesson, well learned for our soul's good."

## CHAPTER XXI

### DOUBTFUL AND CERTAIN ALLIES

The Basutos are in some respects the most remarkable tribe of natives in South Africa. They have been so potent a factor in the development of that section, that they deserve a more particular notice than has as yet been given them, especially since they are destined to play an equally important part in the future history of that portion of the Dark Continent.

The seriousness of the problem which they present appears in the fact that they are brave and prosperous, with an army of 30,000 warriors, which includes excellent cavalry. The tribe occupy a rocky section bounded by Natal, Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, containing 10,293 square miles, and often referred to as the Switzerland of South Africa, for the mountainous section is crossed by valleys of extraordinary fertility.

In some respects, Basutoland resembles the Indian reservations of our own country, since the only white men allowed to live there are missionaries, government officials and a few traders. The whole European population is only 600, while the natives number 200,000. It is a British crown colony and has home rule, with such modified native laws as are deemed necessary and for the best interests of all concerned.

No native tribe is more highly civilized than the Basutos, who are of mixed stock and with better features than the Kaffirs. Missionaries have always been welcomed among them and the religion of the people is a Calvinistic Protestant faith. They have had the Bible

translated into their language, have numerous churches and schools, have comfortable brick homes, excellent roads, and speak English and Dutch fluently. In contrast to the native African, they are industrious and enterprising, raise thousands of sheep and cattle, and the fertile valleys produce abundant crops of the finest wheat and Indian corn. Coal is mined in the mountains, they cultivate wool, and when political matters are quiet, send a million dollars worth of products annually to Cape Colony.

It has been said that their army numbers 30,000 warriors, but with scarcely an effort double that number could be put into the field. Though the disarmament has been general, half of these men would be furnished with rifles, the rest using battle axes and assegais. From their earliest history, they have fought on horseback. Naturally they are excellent horsemen, and their fine cavalry is the distinguishing feature of their army.

The chief of the Basutos is Lerothodi, who has won that distinction by his bravery, ability and skill as a warrior. He makes his home in a large mountain cave, whose walls are adorned with pictures of battle scenes in which his countrymen are depicted as the invariable victors. There are scores of caves in the mountains which are turned to account as forts, armories, and places of concealment. In the event of a Basuto uprising, it would take an army of a hundred thousand men to subdue them, and then the task would be of the most difficult, if not impossible nature. As evidence of this, it may be stated that their capital, Thaba Bosigo, is so powerful a mountain stronghold, that though it has been repeatedly attacked, it has never been taken.

Naturally a comparison is suggested between the Basutos and the Zulus. The two have been called the Normans of the South,

but the Zulus are treacherous, as fierce as tigers, and, in furious daring, far surpass the Basutos, but the latter are intelligent, tactful, possessed of clever diplomatic powers, and, therefore, the most successful, as is always the case when mentality is pitted against barbarism.

It may be said that the Basutos arose from the ruins created by the ferocity of the Zulus at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They depopulated the country for hundreds of square miles, and, from the scant remnants of many tribes, have descended the Basutos, who, as they gradually increased in number, huddled together and chose Moshesh, a humble warrior, as their ruler. He proved to be the Washington of the sorely pressed fugitives, and by his wisdom and wonderful ability, organized, trained and ruled them, leading the afflicted people through repeated dangers, and by the exercise of craft and cunning, carried them far along the high road to the prosperity which they enjoy to-day. His memory will always be held in loving reverence and affection in Basutoland.

The growth of the Basutos excited the jealousy of the Zulus, who made many raids against them, but the subtlety of Moshesh was more than a match for the subtlety of his enemies. Through an admirable system of spies, he was always warned of the approach of the hostile expeditions, and by quick retreat into the mountain fastnesses and the skillful use of false trails, he brought the schemes of the Zulus to naught.

Never was the remarkable diplomacy of Moshesh displayed more successfully than in 1831, when the whole Matabele power was arrayed against him. He and his people withdrew to their mountain home, where they defeated assault after assault until the besiegers were on the verge of starvation and gave up the siege.

It was then that Moshesh sent them cattle, presents and a message proposing that they should be friends. Their enemies were won over, and never since have the Matabeles and Basutos been arrayed against each other.

The policy of welcoming all fugitives brought excellent results. The infusion of new blood added vigor to the old. The physique of the Basutos improved and they grew in numbers and in strength. When missionaries asked permission to enter the territory, Moshesh not only welcomed them, but gave them homes and protected them from molestation. Gradually his tribe was won over to a nominal Christianity, and their friendly relations with the white men added greatly to their prestige among the various tribes. It was inevitable that the history of the Basutos should become interwoven with that of the Boers. Retreating to the Orange River, the Boers, as will be remembered, set up a republican form of government. Moshesh and his people formed the principal native state. He was given sovereign rights over the tract north of the Orange River occupied by the Boers and, in addition, was paid a subsidy by Great Britain.

The Boers held their own ground, organized their own government, and grew and prospered. The next step of Great Britain was to annex the Orange River district, including the Boers, to the British dominions. The arrangement suited Moshesh for the time, and, in the fighting that followed the Boers were worsted, whereupon they trekked again across the Vaal, and laid the foundations of the Transvaal Republic of to-day. Thus the Basutos had a prominent part in the formation of that government.

As we know, the Boers were not followed, but Moshesh soured over the taking away of his sovereignty by Great Britain, and,

determined to win it back, he began warring against the neighboring tribes. Great Britain sent a force to compel order, which was the very thing for which the shrewd Moshesh had planned, since it arrayed the native tribes, and the few Boer farmers who remained, against England. The Basutos formed a coalition with them, and, in 1852, England made a treaty with the Boers by which their independence was acknowledged. Thus was the real Transvaal Republic born, and, it may be said, the Basutos were its father.

Having been baffled by the Boers, the British now turned their attention to the Basutos. Moshesh withdrew to his impregnable mountain stronghold, but left a large drove of cattle to tempt his enemies. While the English were driving off the immense herd, they walked into the ambush that had been set for them, and a fierce battle ensued. Afterward Moshesh cunningly sent a messenger to the British commander humbly begging for peace, declaring that they had been severely chastised by the capture of their herds. The peace for which the chieftain prayed was granted. It was clear that Moshesh held the balance of power, and, in 1854, England acknowledged the independence of the Orange Free State, whose existence, therefore, was due to the Basutos.

Four years later Moshesh, like many another wise man, committed a serious blunder. A quarrel arose with the Boers over their respective boundaries, and a furious war followed. The Boers won, and the Basutos lost a large area of their finest farm land. The British helped in conquering the dusky horsemen, and took their payment by annexing Basutoland, whose people, therefore, are her subjects to-day.

Accurate information regarding the Boers is always valuable

and interesting, especially when it is impartial and conscientious. William Maxwell, of the *London Standard*, is one of the ablest and most truthful of writers and has this to say in a letter to his paper:

"Between the Boer of fiction and of fact there is no affinity. They differ as much as the 'noble redman' who scalps his way through the pages of Fenimore Cooper differs from his squalid, degenerate son in the native reserve. The Boer of fiction is the chivalrous, though somewhat sleepy, gentleman in corduroy—a mountain of beef and bone, given to solitary musing, and to the shooting of buck or 'redcoats,' whichever happen to cross his path. Hunter and hermit, patriot and philosopher, is the mixture out of which he is compounded. The Boer of fact is a creature of another clay. He is a dull, lumpish, lazy animal, with a capacity for ignorance, superstition and tyranny unsurpassed by any white race. His good qualities—for he has redeeming characteristics—appeal strongly to the imagination. He clings with the passionate fervor of a Covenanter to the simple and sublime faith of the literal teaching of the Bible. Love of independence is deep rooted in his nature. The history of South Africa during two and a half centuries is full of examples of his dogged and unconquerable spirit. But he has in overpowering degree the defects of these qualities. His piety is apt to degenerate into superstition and sanctimonious Phariseeism. Love of independence has begot in him hate of everything that might tend to disturb his reverence for the past, and suspicion of the stranger who threatens to 'tread him to death,' in the solitude of the veldt. The unconquerable spirit that has made him one of the boldest pioneers the world has seen has become corrupted into obstinate conceit.

"The absolute seclusion and independence of the pastoral life

of the Boer farmer are accountable for his ignorance. His education is limited to six months' instruction by a tutor, who visits the farm on the silent veldt as soon as the children of the family are grown up. Few of them can read, and still fewer are able to write. Yet the Boer will tolerate nothing that would dispel his ignorance or contradict his superstitions. He is still convinced that the sun moves round the earth, and that the earth is a flat and solid substance, resting on unseen foundations. 'What is this nonsense in which you English believe about the earth being round?' asked a wealthy Boer who is a member of the Volksraad. It was vain to offer Galileo's explanation, 'I have seen the shadow of the earth on the moon.' The familiar proof of a ship on the horizon was treated with derision. 'Do you not always see the top of a thing first?' was the retort. 'No,' said my friend, the Boer legislator; 'I can believe none of this newfangled nonsense. Many a time, returning to my home on the veldt, have I thought over these things. I have watched for hours in the moonlight to see whether the kopje near my homestead really did move, but it is always there—always in the same place. And as for the sun, did not Joshua bid it stand still?' Against arguments of this kind reason avails not; yet I ventured to ask how the sun managed to get under the foundations of the earth every night so as to be in his place in the morning. This difficulty had never presented itself, and the only reply, uttered with unswerving conviction, was, 'Well, I do not believe this nonsense, and Oom Paul does not believe it.'

"Should you suffer from malarial fever contracted in the marshy country, the Dutch pastor, who has heard nothing of the latest researches into mosquito virus, and is sublimely unconscious of his own case, will console you with the warning that it is a

divine punishment for having left the land of your birth. Persistence in the ways of his fathers is a strong characteristic of the Boer. Except in the Free State, where a few farmers have outraged public opinion and flown in the face of Providence, by introducing machinery, the method of cultivating the soil is that of Syria and Palestine. Corn is still trodden, and the law is, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.' But the ox that presumes to think himself worthy of his reward is beaten unmercifully. Thus is the letter of the Law of Moses observed. There is nothing the Boer is not capable of doing with a good conscience. He will beat a Kaffir to death, yet will never believe that the native is not his loyal and devoted friend. At this moment, when every Kaffir in the land, is eager to murder his white oppressor, the Boer imagines that he has only to say the word, and Basutos, Swazi, Matabele, Zulu, and all the black tribes would fall upon and destroy his enemies. This confidence in his destiny and consciousness of superiority over every created thing would be sublime were it not ridiculous.

"As a family man, the Boer's reputation would justify him in becoming a candidate for the Dunmow Flitch. Surly and suspicious in manner, heavy and uncouth in his ways, shy and reserved among strangers, you may win him to a gruff cordiality, if you are a husband and father, and care to listen to the details of his domestic life. But, although the Boer certainly cherishes, with deep affection, his wife and children, he treats them according to Oriental, rather than European ideas. The women always stand until the men are seated, and are not served until the wants of their lords and masters are satisfied. I am describing the customs of the farmer who lives on the veldt, and has no acquaintance with western manners. Such a man

**IN THE ARMORED TRAIN NEAR FRER.**

TRYING TO RECOVER THE GUNS AT THE TUGELA RIVER.

is little removed from a state of barbarism, and his surroundings are often as squalid as those of a Kaffir. Despite this patriarchal rule, the vrouw has great influence over her man, and is credited with having, on more than one occasion, screwed his courage up to the fighting point. The Boer vrouw is not a beauty, notwithstanding the care with which she preserves her complexion from the effects of the sun. Her ambition, like that of the fishwives at Scheveningen, is to become as fat as an ox, though, unlike the Dutch wife, she is not an example of scrupulous cleanliness. The Boer is not hospitable. He resents the presence of strangers, and, being too lazy to cultivate more than is necessary for the immediate wants of his family, he has nothing to spare for uninvited guests.

"I have endeavored to point out some of the most striking characteristics of these people, who have cast a malign spell over civilization and progress in South Africa. There is a higher type of Boer, who is comparatively clean in person, and almost European in thought and habit. He may be as corrupt and sly—'slim' is the word they use—as his detractors make out, yet he is less objectionable than the semi-barbarous fanatic on the veldt. His sense of honor may not be keen, and his disregard for the truth may indicate a low moral standard. But his capacity for mischief is modified by the European environment with which he surrounds himself. Where he is in a decided majority, his disposition is arrogant and overbearing, but he is easily cowed by the display of physical force. The Boer of the farm and the veldt, as well as of the border towns, is less amenable to reason. His phenomenal ignorance, his monumental conceit, his unconquerable hatred of the British, make him a tyrant. It would astound many who have been loud in denouncing war, if they could realize, from personal observation or experience, the

nature of this Boer tyranny. So subtle and far reaching are its effects, that in many districts on British soil our fellow-countrymen pass their lives in subjection. They are compelled to endure slights, and to swallow insults that would have long since driven a less patient people to civil war. The Boer is firmly convinced that the British are a race of cowards. Not all the eloquence of Mr. Gladstone could persuade him that the color of the British flag is not white, or that the independence of the Transvaal was not won by arms at Laings Nek and Majuba."

## CHAPTER XXII

### LYDDITE AND BOER MARKSMANSHIP

An incident of the war was the protest by General Joubert against the use of lyddite shells, as being inhuman and contrary to civilized methods. This high explosive is thus called from the name of the small Kentish town and gunnery center where the experiments with it were made. Lyddite is simply picric acid brought into a dense state of fusion. It is a bright yellow substance much used for dying purposes, and is obtained by the action of nitric acid on phenol or carbolic acid. It burns fiercely, and owing to the terrific blast produced by its explosion, the destructive effects of a bursting shell filled with it is eleven times greater than that of a shell filled with gunpowder.

Ordinary shells of forged steel filled with lyddite are used with six inch and nine and two-tenths inch breech-loading guns and with howitzers, and also with four inch to six inch quick-firing guns. All such shells are equipped with percussion nose fuses only, and the explosion takes place on impact thus: The percussion fuse ignites a picric powder exploder, which, in turn, ignites the bursting charge of lyddite, the detonation of the fuse and of the two explosives inside the shell being simultaneous. The picric powder exploder is inserted in a recess left in the lyddite for that purpose. Despite the protests of the Boer commander against its use, the lyddite shell is in some respects less barbarous than the shrapnel exploded by powder, for, though widespread, its effect is due more to air concussion than to the wounding effects of the flying fragments.

That is to say, in the case of a lyddite shell bursting among a group of men the greater number will be killed, not by pieces of the shell, but by the blow of the suddenly compressed air. In other words, this extraordinary missile kills a man without hitting him.

Much has been said about the amazing skill of the Boers with the rifle. That they are experts cannot be denied, for any men whose existence depends on their ability to defend themselves against wild men and animals cannot fail to handle the weapon effectively. The life of the frontier, where the nearest neighbor might be miles away, has made them self-reliant and expert in the art of self-defense.

But the Boers do not possess the skill with which they are credited, for the good reason that no people in the world can possibly acquire such dexterity in the use of the rifle. One of the greatest of living experts as to the possibilities of this weapon is Mr. A. P. Ingalls, of St. Louis. Not only is he among the most skillful marksmen in the west, but he has made a life-long study of the subject, and his statements, therefore, have an authority which belongs to those of few others. A gentleman some time ago was so wrought up by the accounts of the wonderful marksmanship of the Boers that he asked Mr. Ingalls the question.

"Can an expert rifleman hit an object the size of a man 1,000 yards away?"

"Of course he can," was the reply. "You stand for a target 1,000 yards from me and I'll kill you nine times out of ten."

"Can the feat be performed under all conditions?"

"Certainly not," said the veteran. "It practically can't be done unless the marksman knows the exact distance of his target and precisely what his gun will do and has taken the proper care to

load his shells accurately, and see that his sights are adjusted to the wind."

"Do you believe these stories about the Boers' ability to pick off men or antelope at from 750 to 1,000 yards?"

"No, and no one else does who knows anything about shooting. It would take a ton of lead fired out of a rifle to kill a man 1,000 yards distant under conditions that prevail in war.

"There are three great difficulties to be surmounted: The first is estimating the distance; the second is gauging the wind; the third is the absolute inability of any man to hold a gun perfectly steady without a rest—I might almost say with a rest. I have known one man who could judge distance accurately, but he was a freak, such as these men who can carry columns and columns of figures in their heads. He could glance at an object, say 200 yards away, and tell you the distance, and he wouldn't miss it two yards. I saw him kill a deer 400 yards away once. That is the longest successful shot I ever knew to be made at a live target except when the distance was known to a certainty. If it had been anyone but the man who did it, I would say it was just a 'happen'—that he couldn't do it again—but I knew his wonderful gift for estimating distances accurately. I have heard a good many men claim to have killed deer 500 or 600 yards distant. I always think 200 yards would be a closer estimate. And when I have had the opportunity, and have taken the trouble to measure the distance, I have found I was right. I once killed a crow with a rifle 240 yards away. That sounds incredible, but it is the truth.

"It was when I was a boy in Maine. My father had a target 500 yards from our back fence. There was a dead calf exactly half way between the fence and the target. It had been put there

as a bait for a fox. There had been a snow and the crows had dug down to the carcass and one was standing guard while the others were eating. The sentinel's black feathers made a perfect mark against the snow background, although he didn't look bigger than a nailhead in yonder wall. I knew the distance, and I knew at what notch to put the sights of the gun. There was no wind stirring. I rested the gun on the fence and popped away and the crow fell over dead. Now that was just a 'happen' shot. I aimed to make it all right, but I might not do it again in a thousand times.

"Now, for the wind: In a 1,000 yard range a wind blowing three miles an hour will deflect a bullet about fifteen feet. That has to be allowed for, and, as the wind's force is rarely the same over the entire range, it is practically impossible to gauge it accurately for a chance range.

"As to the inability of a man to hold a gun perfectly steady, anybody knows that is true. But there are marksmen who can drive tacks with a rifle or cut a string with a bullet. That is true, but not at long range. Let me illustrate:

"To give you an idea of the care that is necessary to make a creditable long distance target, I will ask if you know why long-distance riflemen use a round barreled gun instead of the octagon-shaped barrel that most sportsmen like?"

"No, I thought not. You do know, however, that steel expands with heat. You may even remember the figures as to the expansion and contraction of big bridges according as the weather is hot or cold. I don't, but I do know that for every grain of powder burned in a gun there is a corresponding expansion of the metal barrel. I also know that if this expansion is not equable, the gun will not

shoot true. The expansion cannot be absolutely the same at every point of an octagon-shaped barrel because some parts are thicker than others, whereas a round barrel is the same thickness all around, and expands at one point as much as it does at another. This may sound chimerical to you, but did you ever see a piece of modern artillery with any but a cylindrical barrel? They are made that way in order to secure equality of expansion.

"Another thing that target-shooters do, who make scores worth noting, is to load their own shells. I never saw a man make a decent score with factory ammunition, and, of course, that is what soldiers in the field use. We weigh our powder as carefully as though it were gold dust, and if there is a grain too much or a grain too little we reduce or add to the charge exactly that grain.

"I am not saying that a man can't hit a target without all this care. I have seen harum-scarum fellows plunk the bull's-eye with a factory cartridge. But they can't shoot steadily, and when the scores are made up they are out of it. They may have bull's-eyes, but others of their shots will have gone wide of the target. A very small thing will start a bullet on the wrong course. That is one reason why target shooters don't use magazine guns. The bullets in a magazine are apt to become more worn on one side than on the other. Of course, that is fatal in long distance shooting, although it might not count in a range of less than five hundred yards.

"But the great difficulty about sharpshooters picking off men at long range is, that they can't know how far they are shooting and they can't hold the gun on the target. To be sure, they can get the range of a position with a range-finder, and then rain bullets on it, and where so many bullets are falling some are bound

to find their billets, but that isn't marksmanship—that is merely shelling a position. A bullet from a modern rifle will kill more than a mile away, and, theoretically, they are sighted for tremendous distances, but the trouble is that nobody can shoot accurately with them at such extremely long ranges."

Mr. Ingalls told of the devices of target shooters to obtain a steady rest for their guns—how they lie on their backs, on their faces and in every other conceivable manner in order to insure the steadiness of their aim. The best rest, in his opinion, is a box with a place sawed out of it for the marksman to stand in. This supports him on both sides, and, with the barrel of his gun resting on a sack of sand or shot, it is almost impossible for him to wobble. The Boer sharpshooters probably don't have time to make such rests for their rifles.

"Sharp shooters, of course, have peep sights to concentrate their vision, but any hunter will tell you that a peep sight isn't of much service when the object to be sighted is not clearly defined against the background.

"If I were to see a Filipino 1,000 yards away, I'd take a crack at him for luck," concluded Mr. Ingalls, "but, unless I knew the exact distance and the force of the wind, and had a perfect rest, I would only get him by chance."

One startling fact was connected with the heavy losses suffered by the British troops in their battles with the Boers. That was the alarming number of officers killed. The figures showed that out of every four slain at Glencoe, one was an officer, whereas, the organization is made on the principle that there is one to every twenty-five men. Among the enlisted men at Glencoe, the proportion of killed to wounded was 80 to 156, while 10 officers were

killed and 22 officers wounded. The difference in the percentage leads to the belief that many of the officers continued to lead their men after receiving their first wound.

These facts caused many strenuous protests against the ancient custom of British officers in refusing to take cover when under fire. Emperor William criticised this practice, and the general feeling in the army was that, though the regulations do not say that officers must not lie down, it is such a well established principle that it would take a courageous man to begin a change. A really brave officer feels shamefacedness in seeking a shelter, which, of necessity, is denied his men. The sight of such an act during a critical moment is demoralizing to the soldiers, whose respect for their leaders suffers a damaging blow when they see them trying to find protection from the whistling bullets. It is human nature to venerate the officer who is able to say, "Come!" instead of shouting, "Go!" to his men, and the adage of the British soldier is, "Follow wherever an officer leads."

No one can forget the deadly accuracy displayed by the Boers with the rifle in the war of 1879-'80, but the weapon of that day bears slight comparison to the one used in 1899. The former was made on the lines of the British Martini, and was a hammerless arm of about nine pounds weight, with a 30-inch half-octagon barrel and a shotgun butt stock. Its calibre was .45, and the bullet weighed from 405 to 450 grains, the powder charge being 90 grains in a brass drawn cartridge case.

This weapon was sighted up to 2,000 yards, and, besides the usual stationary sight, it had a reversible front, or, in other words, a sight capable of being used as an ordinary front sight, and by a single motion, changed into a fine pinhead sight, protected by a

ring to prevent it being knocked off. When specially fine shooting was desired, the front globe was shaded by a thimble-shaped hood. The ordinary fixed, or rear sights were on the barrel, while on the gun's grip was a turndown peep, regulated by a sidescrew to an elevation of 2,000 yards. The shortest distance for which the peep and globe were used, was some 700 yards.

"I was very much interested in the Boer riflemen and their weapons," said Archibald Forbes, who was with Sir Evelyn Wood's column in South Africa, in 1877-'80. "They are marvelous rifle shots. They shoot their antelope and other game from the saddle, not apparently caring to get nearer to their quarry than 600 to 700 yards. Then they understand the currents of air, their effect upon the drift of a bullet, and can judge distance as accurately as it could be measured by a skilled engineer. They can hit an officer as far as they can discern his insignia of rank. Sir George W. Colley, the commander in South Africa, was killed at a distance of 1,400 yards, at Majuba Hill. We lost terribly in officers at the fight mentioned, and also at Laing's Nek and Rorke's Drift, from the deadly rifles of the sharpshooting Boers."

No explanation is required as to how the Boers became such wonderful marksmen. It has been shown that it was because when they went to South Africa they had to learn to shoot well in contesting the country with wild beasts and the equally fierce wild men. They became unerring riflemen through the same education that made the American pioneers among the finest shots in the world. Every Boer is a hunter, and such men must inevitably become expert rifle shots, or they are not properly hunters.

The Boer rifle of to-day is the sporting model of the Mannlicher, a German arm, which, for its weight and caliber, is probably

the most powerful weapon in the world. The military Mannlicher is used in the armies of Austria, Holland, Greece, Brazil, Chili, Peru and Roumania. The "Haenel model," as a sporting weapon, is beyond all rivalry. Its finish is perfection, it weighs about eight pounds, and in South Africa it costs 200 marks. The carbine barrel is 24 inches long and the rifle 30. It has a pistol grip and sling straps, is hair triggered and its caliber is .30. Its extreme range is 4,500 yards, with a killing range of 4,000 yards. What would our early pioneers have thought of a little weapon that could be relied upon to kill a man more than two miles away? Yet at the distance named this wonderful rifle will send a bullet through two inches of solid ash and nearly three of pine, and at a short distance it will drive a ball clean through four feet of pine.

The bullet used in war is full-mantled, with an outer skin of copper or nickel, but that which is employed for game shooting is only half-mantled, leaving the lead point exposed, so that it "mushrooms" or spreads when it strikes. No arm can compare with it in hunting large game. Making a small orifice as it enters, it tears a large one as it leaves the body. With a velocity of 2,000 feet a second, its impact is tremendous.

Mention is often made of the Dum-Dum bullet, which is a soft-pointed missile, but far less destructive than the Haenel-Mannlicher ball, employed by the Boers, which, at close range, say at 1,000 yards or less, does not flatten, but bores a clean hole through a bone without splintering. When, however, it upsets, the consequences are frightful, for flesh and bone are torn to fragments. The charge was made that the Boers used the soft pointed bullet against the British; for the sake of humanity's decency, it would be better not to credit the accusation.



## CHAPTER XXIII

### GREAT BRITAIN AND COLONIAL LOYALTY

The rapid development of the South African war and the reverses which came to English arms in the early part of the struggle, brought Great Britain face to face with contingencies not considered in the opening days of the contest. The most pessimistic did not think the "insignificant" Boer war would test the fibre of the British Empire, nor that the results of the fighting would open an opportunity for jealous European nations to make an advance on England's outposts in the far east. But, confronted by these problems, England bravely grappled with them. The English colonies showed their loyalty by an eager offering of reinforcements. Lord Salisbury immediately served notice on the world that England would not tolerate any interference on the part of other powers, and that the attempt to take advantage of England's difficulties, would be met with stern retribution, even if it took the last British dollar, and the last drop of blood in the nation.

The quick offer of colonial assistance was one of the bright spots, to the British heart, in the midst of the general gloom which swept over the empire, because of the Boer victories. The different colonies offered twice the number of men that could be accepted by the mother country, and the various colonial parliaments quickly met to vote funds and supplies for the equipping of troops. Rich men in various parts of the empire, came forward with offers to individually equip a certain number of men. Thousands of dollars were given from private sources.

Later further offers of reinforcements were accepted from the colonies. Canada offered to equip a force of mounted policemen, the hard rough riders and fighters of the Northwest territories. Troops were also accepted from Australia, in addition to the first enlistments. When the call for volunteers came in England proper, never had been seen such scenes of enthusiasm as were witnessed on the streets of London. The regimental quotas were quickly filled up, and before the middle of January, several thousand volunteers from England proper, were embarked aboard ship on their way to the scene of the strife. The parting reception given these volunteers was something never exceeded in England. Dense crowds packed the thoroughfares, and the police details could hardly clear the way of the thousands who were packed along the line of march. Dukes, lords and earls fought for the right to secure commanding positions in these regiments. Never before has England sent out so much of her blue blood to the battlefield.

When news of the first British disasters at the seat of war reached Canada, there was no dismay or discouragement, but a tidal wave of patriotism swept over the country, like that which carried everything before it in England. Naturally, the belief was general that a second contingent would be called for, to include artillery, as well as mounted infantry, in which the Canadian service is known to be very efficient. Lieutenant Dwyer, of the Royal Artillery, stationed at Halifax, was ordered to report at once for service in South Africa, and all Canada waited to hear the call, in order to respond with the same enthusiastic loyalty with which she had answered the first summons.

The other British colonies were not behind Canada in their devotion to England. On July 11, the Queensland Parliament,

months before the negotiations had reached an acute stage, passed a resolution, amid great enthusiasm, offering the home government the services of 250 mounted infantry, with machine guns, in the event of hostilities. Canada came next, closely followed by Tasmania, New Zealand, Victoria, Western Australia, New South Wales, and South Australia, who asked the privilege of sending large contingents to the seat of war.

These troops were really not needed. The hard-headed War Office saw that they were not as likely to be useful as the well drilled and disciplined forces that could be forwarded from England, but the sentiment which prompted the gratifying offer could not be ignored, and they were, therefore, cordially accepted. The question became, not as to how many men the respective colonies would send, but how many could be utilized by the home government. It was decided finally that the unit of 125 men should be made the limit of each colony, except in the cases of Victoria and New South Wales, which were allowed 250 men, and of Canada, which could send 500. In Australia the ships selected to carry the volunteers had to be specially guarded to prevent their being overrun by the hundreds who, seemingly, would not be denied. The difficult problem was finally solved as follows, the numbers in many cases exceeding the limits set:

Canada: Six companies of infantry, making nearly a thousand men. Victoria: One hundred and twenty-five mounted rifles and one hundred and twenty-five infantry. Tasmania: Eighty infantry. New South Wales: One hundred and twenty-five lancers and one hundred and twenty-five infantry, in addition to a hospital corps of eighty-six men. South Australia: One hundred and twenty-five infantry. West Australia: One hundred and twenty-five infantry.

New Zealand: Two hundred mounted rifles. Queensland: One hundred and twenty-five infantry.

The Victorian and Tasmanian contingents sailed from Melbourne, on October 28, on which day the city witnessed the greatest demonstration in its history. As the band marched through the streets, it was cheered by 200,000 people, and the Colonial Governor, in an eloquent speech, thrilled his hearers by declaring that the wheeling into line by the sons of Australia, with the men of Canada, marked an era in British history.

Similar honors were paid on the same day by Sydney to her departing militia, as was the case at Adelaide and Brisbane, and at Wellington, New Zealand, the various legislatures having voted large sums for the support of the families of the men who took the field.

As the war progressed the movements in European diplomatic circles left no room for doubt that at least France and Russia were endeavoring to secure the assistance of other powers in joint representations to Great Britain. It was regarded as certain that neither France nor Russia were acting from motives of sympathy with the Boers, for if so, they would have entered their protests before the negotiations between Kruger and Chamberlain reached the ultimatum stage. Therefore, it was reasonable to infer that if France and Russia act at or before the close of the war, they will do so from purely selfish motives, and with the expectation of compelling Great Britain to remain passive, while they seize some other parts of the globe for their own. Russia's ambition in the direction of the Indian Ocean is well known, and France has designs in China and Africa which it never has taken the pains to conceal.

Unfortunately for a pacific outlook, the ambitions of both

A HOT CHASE—BRITISH CAVALRY DRIVING BACK A BOER OUTPOST.

AN INCIDENT AT NICHOLSON'S NEIC.

France and Russia are dangerous to the British Empire. England can neither permit France to secure preponderance in the control of northern Africa, nor allow Russia to advance to the borders of India without practically destroying the British Empire. Consequently, Great Britain is almost certain to accept the alternative of war, even in its present "splendid isolation," for to no power can it turn, unless, perhaps, it may be to Germany, for assistance. If Great Britain is finally brought face to face with the alternative of submission to the dictates of Europe, or a war which shall girt the globe with a belt of flame, it unquestionably will choose the dread alternative of war.

The attitude of the several European powers and of the United States, the probable direction of such a war, and the changes it would ultimately make in the map of the old world, are subjects which are just now engrossing the attention of the diplomats of Europe. Count Mouravieff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, flitted between Paris and San Sebastian for three weeks, in constant consultation with the French and Spanish foreign departments. All over Europe the press, free for the time being from the restraint of censorship, waged a campaign of bitter invective. The crux of the situation will come when England whips the Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Great Britain will make known its plans for the future government of those two republics.

In any future demands on Great Britain, Russia will necessarily take the lead, for the Czar's empire has the most to gain. Although having the most subtle and secretive diplomats in Europe, the ambition and inflexible purpose of Russia are well known. In a general statement, Russia's ambition lies in the direction of an

open sea, unfettered by the ice shackles of winter. Until recently Russian forts faced the ice-clad Baltic, the Arctic Ocean and the Northern Pacific. For six months of every year Russia's merchant steamers and Russia's warships were locked in ice, and it was not until the recent acquisition from China of Port Arthur that the Czar's naval base in the Pacific was rendered effective by open water the year around. For years Russia hoped to extend its empire southward to the Mediterranean, with Constantinople as the objective point, but its ambition, while perhaps not completely shattered, was indefinitely delayed by the Congress of Berlin in 1878, when Europe erected the quasi independent Balkan States as a buffer between the Czar's dominion and the sea.

Since then Russia has been pushing steadily southward toward Persia and Afghanistan. All the intrigue of which Russian diplomacy is capable has been exerted in securing a preponderating influence in the semi-barbaric courts of the Ameer and the Shah. So successfully has this diplomatic intrigue been carried on that to-day it is generally believed that Russia has engaged by secret treaty to occupy Afghanistan with Russian troops in order to preserve order after the death of the present Ameer and secure the throne to his successor. And it is an open secret in European capitals that the Shah has agreed to give Russia the port of Bunder-Abbis, on the Persian Gulf, whenever Russia chooses to occupy it, and has also granted concessions to Russian syndicates for railways running from Russian soil to the Persian Gulf.

Nothing is more certain than that, when the Czar's army enters Afghanistan, it goes there to stay until Great Britain drives it out. The day that a Russian army corps occupies Herat, that day Afghanistan becomes territory of the Czar, and brings the Rus-

sian frontier down to Khyber Pass, an ever-present menace to British control of India. It has long been an aphorism in London that "When Russia goes to Herat, we fight." Equally dangerous to the British Indian empire would be Russia's control of the Persian Gulf. Great Britain gave ample evidence of a true appreciation of the danger from this quarter by deciding to send a powerful squadron to the Persian Gulf, thus serving notice on Russia, in terms not to be misunderstood, that the Czar must keep hands off for the present.

Russia's designs in China are equally understood. Already the Czar holds the Manchurian peninsula and is disputing with Great Britain at Peking the right to dictate terms and concessions to the Chinese government. Great Britain has secured from China a well defined sphere of interest in the Yang-tse-Kiang Valley, by which ultimately the Indian Empire will reach eastward from Burmah to the Pacific. English capital is already building long lines of railroad through and across the valley. In any united European coalition against Great Britain, Russia, if the coalition succeeded in its object, not only would overthrow British influence at Peking and deprive Great Britain of the Yang-tse-Kiang Valley, but, in all probability, would extend its boundaries of the territory already seized from China, southward, until it included Peking, and ultimately make the Chinese empire all Russian.

As far as territorial acquisition is concerned, France has almost as much to gain as Russia. Then, too, France is still smarting under the chagrin of the Fashoda incident, when a year ago Major Marchand was unceremoniously bundled out of the Upper Nile country by Lord Kitchener. France has territorial ambitions in Africa and China, and, unfortunately in the present crisis, these

ambitions run counter to British interests. In Africa, France already controls Algeria and Tunis, bordering on the Mediterranean, and the French Soudan, reaching from the Atlantic nearly to the Nile. France dreams of a great empire in Africa, and long has coveted Tripoli. That France will undertake to seize the latter, in the event of a war, goes without saying. And with Tripoli added to Algeria, France would be up to the gates of Egypt, which Great Britain already occupies, and probably always will occupy, in order to safeguard the Suez Canal. Again, France would like to add Morocco to the western frontier of Algeria, and in a general European war, undoubtedly would endeavor to seize it. Morocco, under French control, would give France the right, at least to divide with Great Britain, the control of the Gibraltar gateway to the Mediterranean. If united Europe should defeat Great Britain in war, the latter would be driven out of Egypt, and the British control pass to another power, and France would again step in to demand the land of the Pharaohs as its share of the booty. With Egypt would go naturally the control of the Suez Canal, this depriving Great Britain of its short road to India.

In China, France, too, would expect to gain in war with Great Britain. France already has a strong foothold in the Orient, Indo-China, including Tonkin, being a valuable, if not a remunerative, colonial possession. In addition to the territory already held in the far East, France has a treaty with China, giving it a sphere of interest in several of the southern provinces of the Chinese empire, together with valuable railway concessions, which already threaten to extend into the British sphere in the Yang-tse-Kiang Valley. Added to all this, is the feverish condition of France at home. The army is disaffected, conspiracies are rife, and royalist plotting

is incessant. The republic is torn by internal strife. Nothing would clear the French atmosphere more thoroughly than a war, in which factional quarrels at home would be forgotten, and employment given to a great army that long has chafed under idleness.

The crux of the whole situation seems to rest with the German Emperor. If Germany casts its lot with Europe, Great Britain may as well call out its last available man, for the sea girt empire will indeed be in danger. But up to the present moment, there is apparent reason to believe that Germany will cast its lot with Great Britain. Several months before the Transvaal negotiations assumed a dangerous phase, Lord Salisbury and the German Ambassador to the court of St. James, reached an agreement which, to-day, is the most mysterious diplomatic secret in all Europe. That this agreement has, among other things, given Great Britain a free hand in South Africa is apparent, for the Kaiser's attitude now is in strange contrast to his friendliness toward the Boer government, immediately after the Jameson raid in 1896, when he sent a congratulatory message to President Kruger that inflamed England, mobilized the British squadrons, and nearly ended in war.

Despite the evident sympathy of a large majority of the German people for the Boers, the German government is preserving an attitude of the most impartial neutrality. The mysterious agreement between Great Britain and Germany, which is exciting so much concern in Europe, is variously interpreted, the most probable explanation of its tenor being hazarded by an English statesman, who believes it gives Germany free hand in the Kaiser's pet project of establishing a great German colonial empire in Asia Minor. Whatever the nature of the secret agreement, it may be

safely assumed that Great Britain has not given Germany something for nothing. If Germany is to be permitted to establish herself in Asia Minor, Great Britain has received compensation somewhere, and the nature of that compensation will be revealed when the European interference with Great Britain's plans is definitely agreed upon, if at all.

The successful formation of a European coalition, therefore, depends largely upon Germany. If Germany unites its fleet with Great Britain, and holds its army ready to march against France and Russia, the proposed European coalition will end in bluster. If, on the other hand, Germany shall finally decide to make terms with France and Russia, trusting to an agreement with those powers to give it what it wants in Asia Minor or any other quarter of the globe, the coalition is as good as formed. But, up to the present time, every indication points to German sympathy with Great Britain, and every effort is being made in France and Russia to break this mysterious bond of friendship. It hardly seems credible that France and Russia would provoke war with Great Britain and Germany united. The risk would be too great, for both would be menaced by the English squadrons on their coasts, and by the German, Austrian, and Italian armies on the frontiers.

The attitude of the smaller powers is worthy of consideration, for they could hardly escape being drawn into any controversy which involves Great Britain, Russia, France and Germany.

Take Italy first: Italy is almost the only exclusively Mediterranean power, and must, for its own protection, exercise a considerable voice in the control of that great inland ocean. It is a member of the dreibund, that offensive and defensive alliance which calls Italy's army into the field whenever Germany or Austria,

or both, are attacked. If Germany involves itself in war either for or against Great Britain, Italy, by the terms of the dreibund, is bound to assist. But, aside from the dreibund, Italy has interests, mostly in the Mediterranean, and a mythical one in China, which almost compel it to attach itself to the fortunes of Great Britain in the present crisis. In the first place, Italy long has asserted its claim to Tripoli, and its claim is well known to Europe. Inasmuch as Tripoli is equally coveted by France, it is certain that it cannot be taken over by both. By joining issues with France and Russia, Italy would have nothing to gain in the way of compensation. On the other hand, by allying itself with Great Britain, Italy would be able to claim Tripoli when peace was once more restored. Italian interests in China are hazy in the extreme, but the government still cherishes a dream of a colonial dependency in the Orient.

It may be set down as practically certain that Austria, if it takes any hand at all in the international quarrel, will do so most unwillingly, and on the side with which Germany allies itself. Austria is in no condition financially or otherwise to go to war. Even were its treasury full, the fear of Hungarian revolt and a break-up of the Danubian empire would deter Francis Joseph from becoming a party to a general European war.

To many it might seem almost ridiculous even for a moment to consider Spain in connection with the word "war." But at the same time it must be remembered that Spain easily can put from 100,000 to 150,000 men in the field, providing the funds were forthcoming. A loan from France in the emergency, together with the hope of securing the retrocession of Gibraltar from England might induce Spain to forget the trouncing it received from the

United States a year ago, and once more try its fortune at the game of war.

The position of Turkey might bother the diplomats on both sides of the controversy. It is difficult to see how the Sultan could be drawn into the war, and equally difficult to understand how he could keep out of it. Abdul Hamid is in the unfortunate position of being compelled to choose sides in a possible conflict, with the certain knowledge that he will lose with either. He is bound by the treaty of Berlin to guard the Dardanelles against the passage of the Russian Black Sea squadron. He has been enabled by judicious loans from England, to fortify the Dardanelles so strongly with modern Krupp guns that he can, if he chooses, batter the Russian warships to pieces when they try to force their way through into the Mediterranean. If he uses his Krupp guns against Russia he will have the Czar's armies knocking at his door to the north, and Bulgaria, Servia, and Roumania ready to unite to liberate Macedonia, with Austria waiting for a convenient opportunity to seize Salonica Bay. If, on the other hand, the Sultan even tacitly allies himself with Russia by permitting the Black Sea squadron to pass unscathed, he will have Germany and Great Britain on his back, with the certainty of losing Asia Minor, in addition to the Bulgarian uprising and the loss of Salonica Bay. As to the little kingdoms of Europe, they undoubtedly will be permitted to remain passive spectators of the great international tragedy—to preserve a stolid neutrality in the midst of the vortex of war about them.

It is almost impossible to appreciate the magnitude and the horror which must characterize a war involving Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy, France and Spain in one general,

widespread conflict. It would mean a war around the globe. All Europe, all Africa, most of Asia, the Islands of the South Pacific, the West Indies, and the northern part of North America would be the scenes of conflict. Great Britain would have, first of all, to defend its empire in India. The Russian army, passing through Afghanistan, would attempt to force its way through Khyber and Chitral passes, thence to pour down on the plains of India, in an attempt to drive Great Britain into the Indian Ocean. The campaign in India alone would be a Napoleonic contest, for here Great Britain maintains an army of nearly 300,000 regular and native troops, and the mountain gateways are protected by fortresses almost as impregnable as the mountains in which they are concealed. But, while Great Britain would be defending India from the incursions of the Cossack legions of the Czar, France would have seized Tripoli and be marching an army against Egypt in an effort to drive John Bull into the Red Sea. But in Egypt and the Soudan, Great Britain has control of 40,000 troops, with native levies to draw upon. If Spain should decide to enter the contest, its army might be used in an effort to regain Gibralter from Great Britain, or to assist in the defense of France from possible invasion by Italy. But the greatest horrors of such a war would only be realized if Germany and its allies in the dreibund should decide to enter the field. Then France and Russia would be assailed from each side by the armies of Germany, Austria, and Italy. With the greater powers engrossed in war, it is almost certain the conflict would involve the Balkan States with Turkey, and the Sultan would be compelled to make his last stand to retain his place on the map of Europe. The enormous sacrifice of life and paralysis of all commerce and industry would be beyond computation. Hardly

a nation engaged in the contest but would emerge from it as hopelessly bankrupt and poverty-stricken as is Spain to-day, and it is this aspect of the situation that furnishes the surest guarantee for peace. There is not a power in Europe, Great Britain excepted, that can engage in war upon its own financial resources. Everyone would have to borrow, and in a conflict which involved all, to whom could the ministers of finance apply?

It is upon its navy, however, that Great Britain would depend largely for the defense of its sea-girt empire. In India and Egypt, it is true, Great Britain's soldiers would engage in land campaigns which would tax their courage and endurance to the utmost. But in all other respects the great battles of an international war would be fought upon the sea. But powerful as Great Britain's navy is, it must be conceded at the outset that France and Russia united, can put a navy to sea that would be terribly effective. The British navy has been built up to its present mammoth proportions on the theory that some day it will have to defend the empire against a possible coalition of the European powers. The fleets in active service are distributed in quarters of the globe, best situated to fight such a war. Naval bases have been located in view of such a contingency.

At the present time Great Britain maintains a powerful squadron at Gibraltar, at the entrance to the Mediterranean, and another at Malta, strong enough to cope with the fleets of any two powers that might be sent against them. Another squadron is at Cape Town. Another at Colombo, in Ceylon, and one at Hongkong. Across the Pacific from Hongkong is a squadron at Esquimalt, on the North American shore. At Halifax, another fleet swings at anchor, and there is yet another at Bermuda, in the West Indies.

These are the vantage grounds of the British squadron, but they do not include the larger fleet kept in home waters for the defense of the shores of the British Islands. The true strength of this great fleet is an admiralty secret; but it is known to be strong enough to protect England from attack by any possible combination, and, if necessary, to assume offensive operations in addition.

On the other hand, France maintains powerful squadrons at Cherbourg and Brest, in the Atlantic, and at Toulon, in the Mediterranean. Russia has three great fleets, one in the Baltic, one in the Black Sea, and the third at Port Arthur on the China station. Italy has a navy not to be despised in the Mediterranean. Germany's squadrons are in the Baltic and North Seas, and at Kiao Chou, China.

At the beginning of a possible war in which Great Britain would be compelled to face France and Russia principally, within a few days after the declaration of hostilities there would come a series of naval battles that would startle the world. First, the French squadron at Toulon would be compelled, from motives of self-security, to form a juncture with either the French squadron at Brest and Cherburg, or with the Russian Black Sea squadron coming through the Dardanelles. To prevent this juncture, would be the first task of the British fleet at Malta, and the battle would be fought as quickly as the English ships could find the Frenchmen.

In the meantime the French fleet in the Atlantic would receive the immediate attention of the British Channel squadron at Gibraltar, and a second naval battle would result. To prevent Russia's squadron in the Baltic from escaping to waters where it could strike a blow, a powerful squadron would be detached from Great Britain's home fleet, and sent into the Baltic to destroy, if possible, the Czar's warships.

Again, the destruction of the Russian fleet at Port Arthur would be absolutely necessary to the safety of British possessions in the Pacific, and the English warships at Hongkong would speed for the Gulf of Pe-chi-li to give battle for the control of the Orient.

These are the battles on sea that would be almost certain to follow within a few weeks after such a war should begin. What would be the results of such stupendous naval contests one can only surmise. As a general proposition, however, it may be assumed as probable that the British navy would prove equal to its proudest traditions. There is no lack of those who would prophesy that the results of the initial contests on the sea would be so decisive that the powers arrayed against Great Britain would be convinced that all further efforts to continue effective warfare would be fruitless, and that the contest would end then and there.

In all the discussions leading up to a possible coalition against Great Britain, the probable position to be assumed by Japan must not be lost sight of. Japan has just stepped out of Oriental mediævalism into the light of modern civilization, and, more than that, has ambition to participate in the world's affairs. Japan has, within recent months, it is believed, come to a friendly understanding with China, by which the two far Eastern nations have agreed to work in closer harmony. It is known at Peking that China has signified a willingness to transfer the Province of Swatow to Japan. Aside from any territorial interest in China, however, Japan has an instinctive and growing distrust of Russia, and it is quite certain that any attempt on the part of the latter to secure, through war or diplomacy, a preponderating influence in China will be met with evidence of hostility. If necessary, Japan's new and powerful navy would unquestionably be thrown into the scales on the British

side, and if so the issue would be quickly decided in favor of the alliance between Great Britain and the Oriental power.

The first question that would be asked on this side of the Atlantic, in the event of so stupendous a conflict, would be:

“Where will America stand?”

The sympathy engendered by a common tongue, a common literature, a common civilization, might impel the people of this country to hope for the success of England as against the world. But when one goes beyond sympathy he will reach a domain of discussion in which it would be not only difficult but dangerous to enter. In the first place, it may be taken for granted that every power engaged in the struggle would make every endeavor to maintain the most cordial and friendly relations with the United States. It is difficult to conceive of any great European power engaged in a life and death struggle, deliberately provoking so powerful a nation as the United States into joining hands with Great Britain, and it is equally impossible to conceive of the United States taking any part in the struggle against Great Britain.

It is true, unforeseen contingencies might arise which would make it difficult for the United States to hold aloof. It may be set down as certain that any attempt to break through the Monroe doctrine, say, by an invasion of Canada, or the seizure of the West India Islands, would arouse a dangerous sentiment in this country, and this sentiment, it may be remarked, is one of the strongest defenses Great Britain could have for the defense of her possessions on the North American continent.

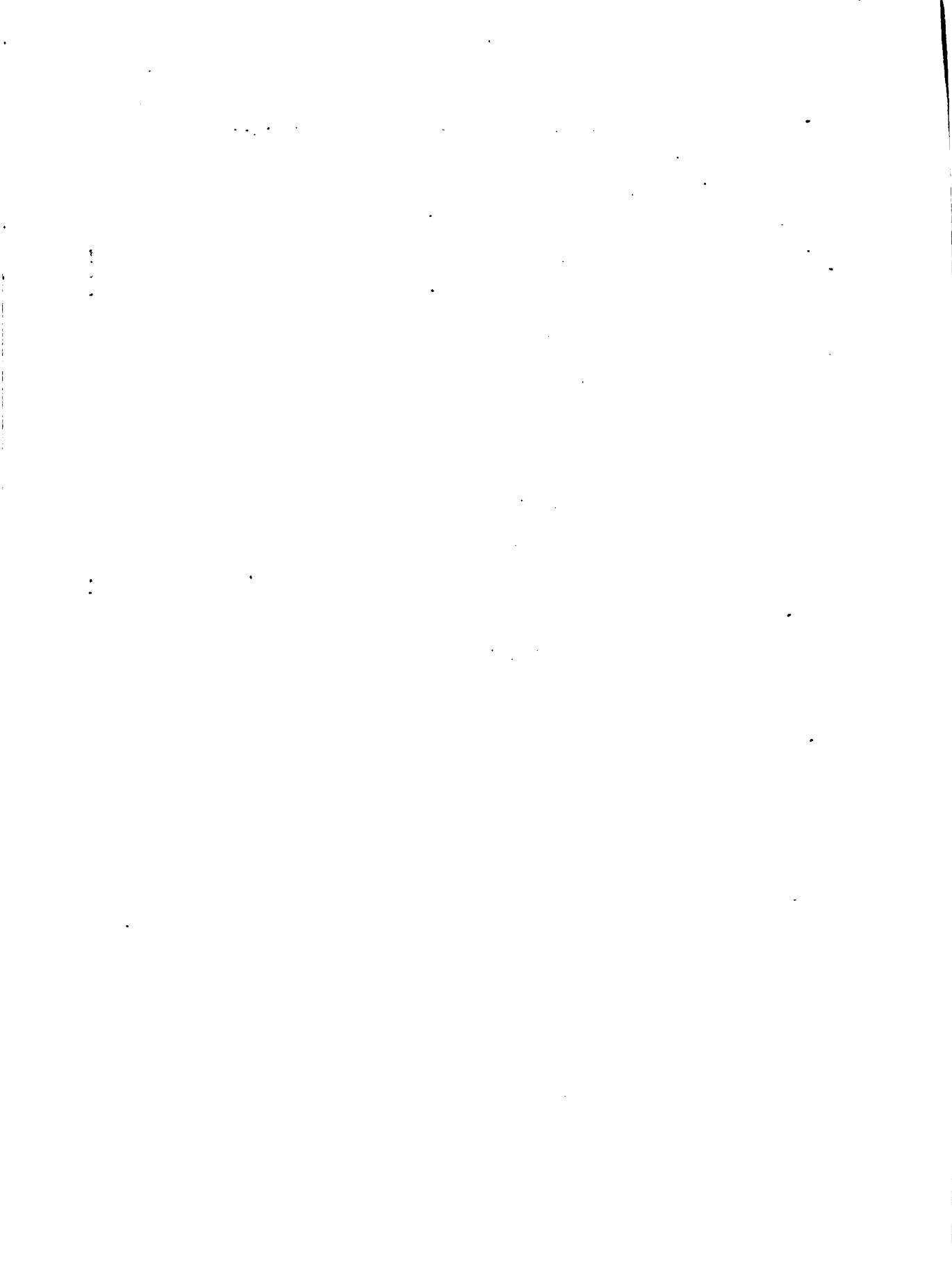
There is one point which the United States would be compelled to watch with close interest. That would be the safety and protection of the Philippines. With British power in the Pacific broken

by disaster in war, some foolhardy nation might rashly consider the project of wresting the Philippine group from American control. Such a contingency is so remote that it is hardly worth considering, but it must be remembered always that in times of excitement, nations, like individuals, sometimes embark in enterprises of extreme hardihood. At any rate, the United States can rest secure in the knowledge that in the Philippines there is an army greater than any European power could possibly bring, and in Manila Bay a fleet of battleships, monitors, and cruisers, strong enough to cope with any squadron, any of the powers would be able to assemble after the first and necessary battle with the British fleets. It must always be remembered that before any nation, or combination of nations, would dare seek to attack the United States, either at home or in the far East, the British fleets must first be destroyed, and after the destruction of a British fleet, the enemy's squadron would be in poor condition for another battle.

And, finally, when the struggle was ended, and the international congress met to arrange its terms of peace, the geographers would have to prepare new maps of Europe, Asia, and Africa. There is room for abundant speculation as to the nature and extent of those changes. If Great Britain, after an heroic struggle in self-defense, would win, it is easy to conceive that all Africa, or, at least, all now held by France, would be transferred to the British flag. In Asia, British ascendancy would be recognized in Persia, Afghanistan, Indo-China, and the Yang-tse-Kiang Valley, thus practically stretching the British empire across Africa and southern Asia, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and bringing under the government of the English-speaking race a territory larger than Russia and Siberia.

On the other hand, if Great Britain lost in the struggle, it would

seem, almost, that the British Empire had been destroyed. No longer would England be in Egypt. South Africa, then, would in all probability, be a confederacy, under Dutch control. Persia and Afghanistan would become Russian soil, British pretensions in China would be destroyed, and many of the island colonies would be added to the possession of the victors. India would, or would not fall to the share of Russia, just according to the terms of settlement. There would likely be few changes in Europe, although, if France were victorious against England and Germany, Alsace and Lorraine would be restored to the republic. The Balkan States would undoubtedly lose their identity, and become merged with Russia, and there would be other and minor changes.



LORD ROBERTS.

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**LORD KITCHENER, CHIEF OF STAFF.**

## CHAPTER XXIV

### ORANGE FREE STATE

Much natural curiosity has been felt regarding the flag of the Transvaal. It is a simple affair, consisting of one broad vertical bar of green next the flag pole, and three horizontal bars, respectively, red, white and blue, with the red at the top. If one should take the flag of Holland and sew a bar of green at the flag-staff end, he would have the Boer flag. Those people speak of their flag as the "vierkleur," the four-color, as the French call their flag the "tri-color." The flag of the Orange Free State is a rectangle of vivid orange.

The motto of the South African Republic is "Een Dragt Maakt Magt," which, being interpreted, means "Right Makes Might." The dominant feature of their coat of arms is a vulture, on the left-hand quarter a lion couchant, on the right an armed Boer with a rifle, a Boer ox wagon filling the remaining half of the picture, in the center of which is an anchor, typifying the Cape colonial origin of the Transvaalers. A good many years ago, a die was made in Holland for a government official in the Transvaal, but he refused to accept it, because the ox wagon was shown with a pair of shafts instead of a "disselboom," or single pole.

The most distinctive feature of the arms of the Orange Free State is an orange tree in full fruit. Beneath the tree on one side is a lion, and on the other a number of oxen, the whole design being completed by an ox wagon similar to that on the Transvaal arms, and three suspended horns.

Since the Orange Free State cast its lot unhesitatingly with its sister republic, and its burghers fought valiantly in the war for independence, it is proper in this place to give a brief account of its president and his predecessors. Its first executive was Thomas F. Burgers, a clergyman and an upright man, lacking, however, in practical sense, and disposed to dream of the future greatness of his country. His great desire was to see it provided with high schools, colleges, telegraphs and railways. Two years after his election, the legislature sent him to Europe to negotiate a loan to build a line to Delagoa Bay. The road was partly built, when the funds gave out and the rails and material rusted away.

Jacob Nicolaus Boshof was the second president and quickly found himself compelled to deal with the restless native Basutos. His first war was unsuccessful, and he was succeeded by Martin Wessel Pretorius, a son of the distinguished general. Under his administration, the country grew stronger and purchased the territorial rights of the Griqua Chief, Adam Kok. The next president, John H. Brand, elected in 1888, was a lawyer, who commanded the respect of all parties, but he had his hands full with the war against the native Basutos under Moshesh. Great Britain claimed the diamond fields, valued at \$200,000,000, as British territory, but compromised by paying the Orange Free State \$450,000, with which sum President Brand paid off all the national debt.

Chief Justice Francis W. Reitz succeeded Mr. Brand, and at present is Secretary of State of the South African Republic. The Orange Free State prospered greatly under his administration, and good roads, bridges and public buildings were constructed in all parts of the country. His health broke down in 1895, when he was succeeded by the present president, Martin T. Steyn, whose

sincerity and honesty have been proven by his living up to the spirit and letter of the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with his sister republic.

When war broke out with Great Britain, President Steyn issued the following manifesto, which was sent broadcast throughout the civilized world and was widely published in our own country:

PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE PRESIDENT OF THE  
ORANGE FREE STATE.

*"Burghers of the Orange Free State:* The time which we had so much desired to avoid, the moment when we as a nation are compelled with arms to oppose injustice and shameless violence, is at hand. Our sister republic to the north of the Vaal River is about to be attacked by an unscrupulous enemy, who, for many years, has prepared himself and sought pretexts for the violence of which he is *now* guilty, whose purpose it is to destroy the existence of the Afrikander race.

With our sister republic we are not only bound by ties of love, of sympathy and of common interests, but also by a formal treaty, which has been necessitated by circumstances. This treaty demands of us that we assist her if she should be unjustly attacked, which we unfortunately for a long time have had too much reason to expect. We therefore cannot passively look on while injustice is done her and while also our own dearly bought freedom is endangered, but are called as men to resist, trusting the Almighty, firmly believing that He will never permit injustice and unrighteousness to triumph, and relying upon our good right in His sight and in the eyes of the whole world.

Now that we thus resist a powerful enemy, with whom it has always been our honest desire to live in friendship, notwithstanding

injustice and wrong done by him to us in the past, we solemnly declare in the presence of Almighty God that we are compelled thereto by the injustice done to our kinsmen and by the consciousness that the end of their independence will make our existence as an independent state of no significance, and that their fate, should they be obliged to bend under an overwhelming power, will also soon after be our own fate.

Solemn treaties have not protected our sister republic against annexation, against conspiracy, against the claim of an abolished suzerainty, against continuous oppression and interference, and now against a renewed attack which aims only at our downfall.

Our own unfortunate experiences in the past have also made it sufficiently clear to us that we cannot rely on the most solemn promises and agreements of Great Britain when she has at her helm a government prepared to trample on treaties and to look for feigned pretexts for every violation of good faith by her committed. This is proved, among other things, by the unjust and unlawful British intervention after we had overcome an armed and barbarous black tribe on our eastern frontier, as also by the forcible appropriation of the dominion over part of our territory, when the discovery of diamonds has caused the desire for this appropriation, although contrary to existing treaties. The desire and intention to trample on our rights as an independent and sovereign nation, notwithstanding a solemn convention, existing between this State and Great Britain, have also been more than once and are now again shown by the present government, by giving expression in public documents to an unfounded claim of paramountcy over the whole of South Africa, and therefore also over this State.

With regard to the South African Republic, Great Britain has moreover refused, until the present, to allow her to regain her original position in respect to foreign affairs, a position which she has lost in no sense by her own faults. The original intention of conventions, to which the republic had consented under pressure of circumstance, has been perverted, and has continually been used by the present British administration as a means for the practice of tyranny and of injustice, and among other things for the support of a revolutionary propaganda within the republic in favor of Great Britain.

And while no redress has been offered, as justice demands for injustice done to the South African Republic on the part of the British government; and while no gratitude is exhibited for the magnanimity shown at the request of the British government to British subjects who had forfeited, under the laws of the republic, their lives and their property, yet no feeling of shame has prevented the English government, now that gold mines of immense value have been discovered in the country, to make claims on the republic, the consequence of which, if allowed, will be that those who or whose forefathers have saved the country from barbarism and have won it for civilization with their blood and their tears, will lose that control over the interests of the country to which they are justly entitled according to divine and human laws. The consequence of these claims would be, moreover, that the greater part of the power will be placed in the hands of those who, foreigners by birth, enjoy the privilege of depriving the country of its chief treasure, while they have never shown any loyalty except loyalty to a foreign government. Besides, the inevitable consequence of the acceptance of these claims would be, that the

independence of the country as a self-governing, independent, sovereign republic would be irreparably lost. For years past, British troops in great numbers have been placed on the frontiers of our sister republic in order to compel her by fear to accede to the demands which would be pressed upon her, and in order to encourage revolutionary disturbances and the cunning plans of those whose greed for gold is the cause of their shameless undertakings.

Those plans have now reached their climax in the open violence to which the present British government now resorts. While we readily acknowledge the honorable character of thousands of Englishmen, who loathe such deeds of robbery and wrong, we cannot but abhor the shameless breaking of treaties, the feigned pretexts for the transgression of law, the violation of the international law and of justice and the numerous right-rending deeds of the British statesmen who now force a war upon the South African Republic. On their heads be the guilt of blood, and may a just Providence reward all as they deserve.

*Burghers of the Orange Free State! Rise as one man against the oppressor and the violator of right!*

In the strife to which we are now driven have care to commit no deed unworthy of a Christian and of a burgher of the Orange Free State. Let us look forward with confidence to a fortunate end of this conflict, trusting to that Higher Power without whose help human weapons are of no avail.

May He bless our arms. Under His banner we advance to battle for liberty and for fatherland!

Given under my hand and the great seal of the Orange Free State at Blo<sup>m</sup>fontein. M. T. STEYN, State President.

Pretoria, the capital of the South African Republic, was named in honor of the picturesque and talented old general, Andrius Pretorius, who was made commander-in-chief of Natal. It was he who originated the plan of the rounding up of wagons in a ring or rampart, with the men and animals inside, whenever attacked by native tribes. This method was used with great success in his campaign against the famous Zulu chief, Dingan, whose power was broken in a battle so sanguinary that the stream upon which it was fought has since borne the name of Blood River.

Among the names prominent in the Transvaal war is that of John Henry Hofmeyr, chairman of the Cape Town Afrikander Bund, which exercises an all-powerful influence over the plans of the Dutch, or Afrikander party, which has more or less supporters in the South African states, Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State and the South African Republic. He is looked upon as that all-important personage, the power behind the throne, in the movement which has in view the alliance of the countries named—a project that looms up threateningly behind the effort of Great Britain to conquer the Transvaal.

General Nicholaus Smit commanded a detachment of Boers in 1881, who attacked General Colley's forces near the Ingogo River, while on their way to Newcastle. The fight was a furious one and lasted until darkness, when, two-thirds of the English being dead or wounded, the remainder ran away before the fierce charge of the Boers, made at dusk, amid a drenching rain storm.

General Piet Joubert, "Slim Peter," led the Boers in the battles of 1881—Newcastle and Laings Nek—while General Frans Joubert commanded at Bronkhurst Spruit. In these engagements, the English loss was more than seven hundred men, while that of the

Boers was seventeen killed and thirty wounded. In the famous contest at Majuba's Hill, already referred to, 280 of the British were killed outright, or dropped wounded on the field, while the loss of the Boers was five killed and wounded. These fights included that of Jameson's raid, where 100 British were killed and only five of the Boers fell.

We insert in this place the national hymn of the South African Republic:

THE TRANSVAAL VOLKSLIED.

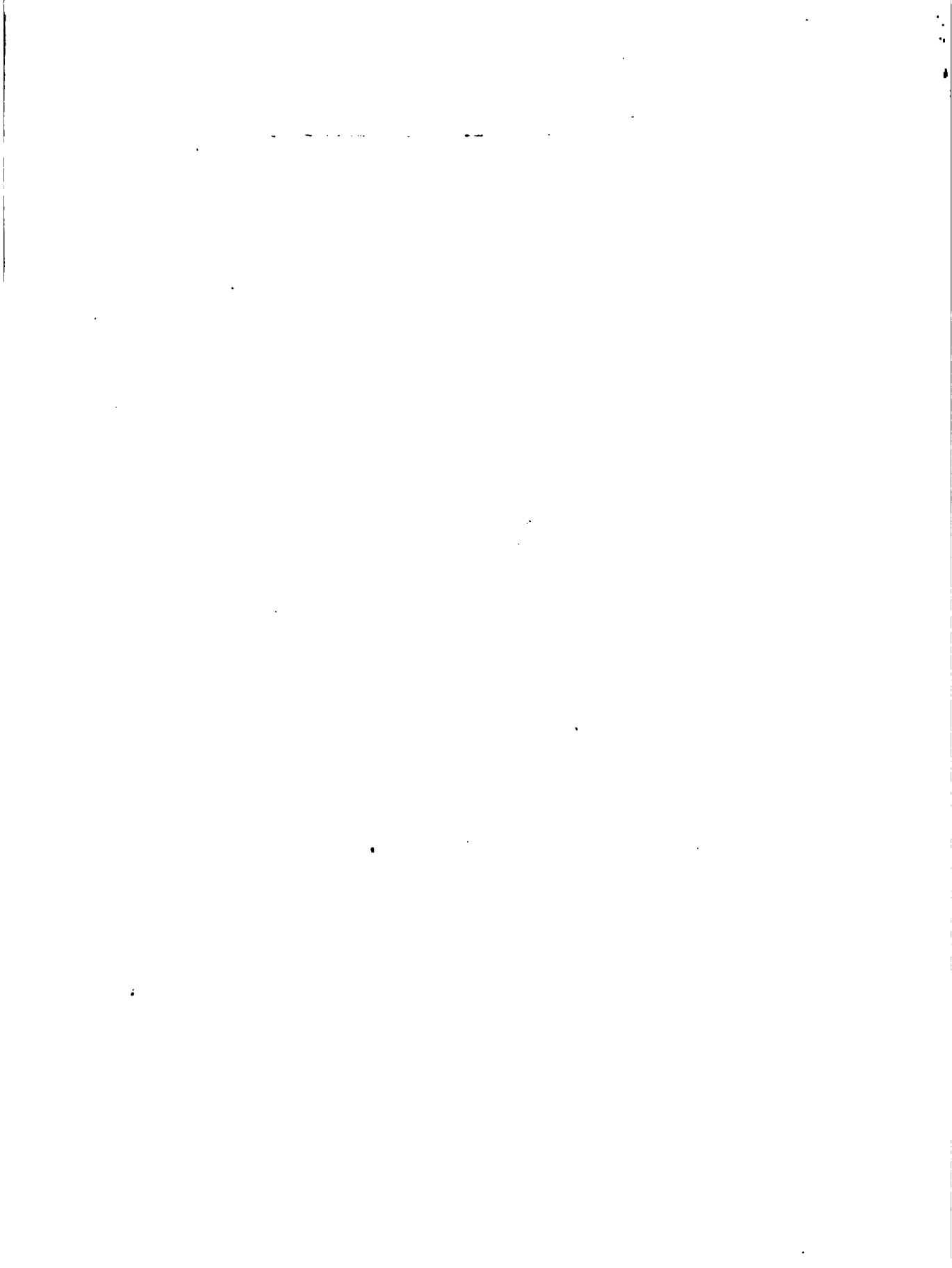
The four-colors of our dear old land  
 Again float o'er Transvaal,  
 And woe the God-forgetting hand  
 That down our flag would haul !  
 Wave higher now in clearer sky  
 Our Transvaal freedom's stay !  
 (Lit., freedom's flag.)  
 Our enemies with fright did fly ;  
 Now dawns a glorious day.

Through many a storm ye bravely stood,  
 And we stood likewise true ;  
 Now, that the storm is o'er, we would  
 Leave nevermore from you  
 Bestormed by Kaffir, Lion, Brit,  
 Wave ever o'er their head ;  
 And then to spite we hoist thee yet  
 Up to the topmost stead !

Four long years did we beg—aye, pray—  
 To keep our lands clear, free  
 We ask you, Brit, we loath the fray :  
 “ Go hence, and let us be !  
 We've waited, Brit, we love you not,  
 To arms we call the Boer ; ”  
 (Lit., Now take we to our guns.)  
 You've teased us long enough, we troth,  
 Now wait we nevermore.

And with God's help we cast the yoke  
Of England from our knee;  
Our country safe—behold and look—  
Once more our flag waves free!  
Though many a hero's blood it cost,  
May all the nations see  
(Lit., Though England ever so much more.)  
That God the Lord redeemed our hosts;  
The glory His shall be.

Wave high now o'er our dear old land,  
Wave four-colors of Transvaal!  
And woe the God-forgetting hand  
That dares you down to haul!  
Wave higher now in clearer sky  
Our Transvaal freedom's stay!  
Our enemies with fright did fly;  
Now dawns a glorious day.



## CHAPTER XXV

### HOPE DEFERRED

The report of losses in the engagement at Riefontein farm on October 24, to cover General Yule's retreat was: British loss thirteen killed, ninety-three wounded, three missing; Boers, six killed, nine wounded. On the same day, Major Scott made a reconnaissance at Kimberley, when he lost four killed and eleven wounded, Commandant Botha of Boshof being killed. The Boer loss was not given. The War Office returns of British losses to the 25th of the month were: officers, eighteen killed, fifty-five wounded; men, seventy-six killed, 435 wounded; missing thirteen; total, 597.

The news from the seat of war on the last day in October was to the effect that the British movement to the eastward of Ladysmith was a reconnaissance in force which failed to come in touch with the main body of the Boer army.

Sir George White expected to find the Boers in the position revealed by the captive balloon several days before. The right and principal column was composed of three cavalry regiments, five battalions of infantry and had twenty-four field guns; the center column of two cavalry regiments and four infantry battalions, with eighteen field guns; the left column of two infantry battalions, with six seven-pounder screw guns. Emerging from Ladysmith, the right and center columns moved to assault the Boer positions, while the left column was sent to occupy the hills on the left of the advance. It turned out, however, that the Boers had evacuated all their positions during the night, taking with them the heavy

guns with which they had bombarded Ladysmith from Lombard's Kop. The change in their positions was wholly unexpected by the British commander who was disconcerted and compelled to turn what was intended as a movement of assault into a reconnaissance in force. He did not have to hunt long for the enemy when he found them posted in large numbers and well supplied with artillery. The result of the brisk action that followed was that the advantage was with the Boers and the British were obliged to withdraw and return to Ladysmith without accomplishing the purpose of their advance.

While the two main columns were thus fruitlessly fighting, the left became entangled among the hills, were attacked by a large force of Boers and fought desperately, but, having lost the greater part of their regimental and reserve ammunition and mountain artillery equipment, were compelled to surrender as soon as their ammunition was exhausted. The affair was a striking proof of the danger attending operations at night in a strange country.

Naturally the result was highly unsatisfactory to the British, promising further disadvantageous consequences, while the prestige of the Boers was greatly increased among the natives, of whose rising they had felt many misgivings. The Boers have shown an astonishing quickness to learn lessons, whether from defeat or victory, which they turned to the most effective account. One cause of surprise to the British was the mobility of their artillery, for the general belief was that it would be inefficiently served and prove an incumbrance rather than a help.

A striking display of the activity of the Boers occurred on Monday, when it was discovered that they were back in their former positions that had been found evacuated the day before, and,

from the accounts of this battle, had the Boers been alert and seized the opportunity offered them, they could have inflicted a still greater disaster upon the British arms. There was one moment during the fighting, at the time the three infantry battalions of the center column were sent to reinforce the right and one of its brigades fell back in disorder on its artillery, when the center column was wholly at the mercy of the Boers and the retreat of the right could have been cut off. Had this chance been seized the blow would have been overwhelming and decisive.

The War Office report gave in addition to the list of killed and wounded, placed at 272, some 465 missing besides those belonging to the left column, who were taken prisoners. Colonel Grimwood's brigade of the right column was not only compelled to make a precipitate retreat, but lost its ammunition. It was clear, therefore, that the heaviest fighting of the day was on that part of the field south of the Helpmakaar road, the number of killed and wounded being so large that an armistice became necessary to attend to the burying of the dead and carrying off of the wounded.

Passing to the southern boundary of the Orange Free State, the movements indicated active operations on the part of the British, with a view of relieving the pressure upon Ladysmith, by drawing the attention of the Free State forces on the Van Reenen's Pass road from that side. The Free State commandos were at that time encamped near Norval's Point, protecting the railway bridge, 1,690 feet in length, which crosses the Orange River, on the line connecting Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein. Another strong force of Boers were at Bethulie, covering the bridge 1,486 feet long, on the East London-Bloemfontein line, with still another force at Rouxville in command of the bridge, 840 feet long, which crosses the Orange River at Aliwai North.

Sir Alfred Milner, the British high commissioner in South Africa, officially reported the annexation of the territory north of the Orange and Vaal rivers, between the Transvaal and the German West African protectorate. This was an important step, since it placed at the command of the Transvaal several thousand mounted burghers, of whom a number had already taken part in the operations against Kimberley and Mafeking.

A telegram dated November 2 was received in London from Pietermaritzburg announcing that the women and children had been sent away from Ladysmith, and it was apparent that Sir George White was determined to make a desperate defense. At the same time, it appeared that the Boer forces were extending their lines to the southward with the object of completely isolating the city. The Boers occupied Colenso, thereby adding to the grave danger of the garrison of Ladysmith, thus shutting off all communication by rail or wire with the city. Reinforcements were reported to be coming down through Zululand and they could not fail to form an important addition to the command of General Joubert. Another important advantage gained by the Boers was that of impressing the observant Zulus with the strength they had displayed.

A brilliant exploit of the garrison was performed on Thursday, November 2, when a force composed of cavalry, artillery and infantry dashed out of the town and struck a blow at the Boers, the point assailed being the camp of the Free Staters at Bester's Hill, on the road leading to Van Reenen's Pass. The Boers, after a brisk defense, were driven out. The news of these movements was sent from Ladysmith by carrier pigeons. But for this means of communication it would have been impossible to secure any definite

information of the city and its garrison, respecting whom the greatest anxiety prevailed in Europe.

The proof that Great Britain had an exceedingly difficult and costly task on her hands became more manifest every day. The state commandos advanced upon Cape Colony and the peril of a general uprising among the Afrikander population became imminent. As a precautionary measure, the British destroyed the railway bridge across the Orange River at Hopetown, on the railway between Kimberley and De Aar, thus effectually closing one of the most important avenues, by which it was expected to send help to Kimberley from that side. The Boers destroyed the bridge over the Colesburg River, twelve miles from the town of that name, and tore up nearly twenty miles of the line south of Norval's Point, whose approaches were mined. It was reported that the Boers had occupied Gaberones in the direction of Rhodesia.

The British, after evacuating Colenso, prepared to make a stand at Estcourt, covering the railway coming from the pass through the Mooi range of hills north of Pietermaritzburg. The Boers displayed great activity, often overturning the plans of campaign of their enemies. From the chaff of rumors and exaggerated reports, the wheat was found to be that the fighting on the second and third of November was in the nature of skirmishing. The Boer big gun, which was repeatedly reported disabled, was soon in active service again, it being chiefly aimed at the forts and the British naval guns. The Boers held their former positions, though the investment was not strict enough to prevent several excursions being made to the westward. The General at Estcourt sent the following dispatch through the Governor of Natal:

"November 6. Since Friday there has been a cessation of

hostilities. A note was sent on that day to General Joubert by General White, asking permission for the non-combatants and the sick and wounded to go south. Joubert refused to grant the request, but agreed to allow them to go to a special camp four miles from Ladysmith.

"The townspeople refused to accept this offer. The sick and wounded and a few of the inhabitants moved yesterday. A few shots were exchanged yesterday between outposts. Friday's bombardment was heavy. Shells fell in the hospital and one burst in the hotel during luncheon. No one was injured.

"The only casualty in the town from the shells, up to the present time, was one Kaffir killed last Wednesday.

"On Friday there was a smart action toward Dewdrop (the railway station for Ladysmith). The troops under Colonel Brocklehurst drove the Boers back a considerable distance and disabled one gun.

"There was also fighting near Bulwana. Our loss altogether was eight killed and about twenty wounded.

"Ninety-eight of our wounded, who were sent here, have arrived and are doing well.

"Our position here is now believed to be entirely safe. It has been greatly strengthened during the last twenty-four hours. The people have deserted their dwellings and are living in bomb-proof places. There are plenty of good stores of all kinds."

General Sir Redvers Buller arrived at Capetown on the transport *Dunottar Castle* on the 31st of October. An enormous crowd cheered him as he was driven in an open carriage to the Government House, where he was received with a salute of seventeen guns. He sailed from Southampton on October 14 to assume command of the British forces in South Africa.

LIEUT.-GEN. JOHN DENTON PINKSTONE FRENCH. MAJOR-GEN. T. KELLY-KENNY, C. B.

LIEUT.-GEN. SIR F. W. E. FORESTIER-WALKER. GEN. SIR CORNELIUS FRANCIS CLERY.

LIEUT.-GEN. LORD METHUEN.

MAJOR-GEN. SIR WILLIAM GATACRE.

When a disaster befalls the arms of any country, it is natural to try and fix the blame. It often happens that those thus censured are unjustly condemned, but the impatient people must have some one to be held accountable for the misfortune. The frank avowal of General White, in which he declared that the failure was wholly due to him, and to no one else, disarmed criticism to a certain extent, and caused much sympathy for him. A good many, including the service publications, held that he was less responsible than he made out, and that the least that could be honorably done was to suspend judgment until all the facts were learned. *The Naval and Military Record* said:

"Considering the nature of the country, the lamentable unpreparedness of England and the unwillingness of the opposition to allow a British regiment to go to South Africa until President Kruger's ultimatum was received, it is almost surprising that we have been able to hold our own so far. Not only have the Boers proved themselves determined fighters and splendid sharpshooters, as we knew them to be, but they have developed surprising military and strategic qualities. They have nearly surrounded every garrison we hold and have invariably occupied almost unassailable positions, fighting with great courage. Against such fighters our little force, left isolated far from our base and without hope of relief for days to come, has not only done splendid work, but has gained successes which we venture to believe no other soldiers in the world placed in similar positions and in similar unfortunate conditions could have achieved."

With the disheartening news from the seat of war and the general misgivings concerning foreign interference, Great Britain surely had enough trouble to cause anxiety. It is the latter

question which is of far-reaching importance. At the Lord Mayor's banquet in London on the evening of November 9, Lord Wolseley, Commander-in-chief of the army, announced that orders had been issued for the formation of another division, which would be sent to South Africa, and he added that, if found necessary, the Second Army Corps would be mobilized.

Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister, spoke words for which it may be said the nation was intently listening and which caused vast encouragement. He deprecated certain criticisms and statements which he said were not well founded. There was a feeling that the lack of troops was due to want of action on the part of the government.

"It was stated abroad," said he, "that we were a strong nation attacking a weak one. But, surely, as our forces are so far distant, it would be nearer the truth to say that we were a weak nation attacking a strong one.

"What was the cause of the war and the Boer ultimatum? It was said that it was because we had taken measures to increase our force in South Africa. If we had increased this force earlier, the Transvaal ultimatum would have been sent earlier. The real cause dated back to the unfortunate arrangements of 1881, whereby we permitted a community admittedly hostile to us to enjoy the rights of accumulating unbounded munitions of war.

"Our troops are now beginning to arrive in South Africa. Foreign nations have complimented us on the coolness with which we have received news of checks. But we knew that checks were always possible at the outset."

Lord Salisbury declared that his faith in the British soldier was unbounded. "I must deprecate," said he, "such strong assertions

as that the war had for its object greed for a share of the gold and diamond mines. England would derive no advantage from the possession of these mines.

"Every industry that was successfully prosecuted bred commerce and that, of course, was to the advantage of England. That was all we desired. We sought neither the gold territory nor the diamond mines, but equal rights for all men. It cannot be doubted that we shall so arrange the issue of the conflict as to confer good government on the area concerned and give that security which is solely needed against the recurrence of any such strife in that portion of the world."

Lord Salisbury characterized as wild the suggestions that foreign powers would interfere in the present conflict and would dictate in some way the manner in which it would be terminated. "Do not let any man think," he continued, "that it is in that fashion that this conflict will be concluded. We will have to carry it through ourselves and no interference will have any effect; in the first place, because we shall not accept such interference quietly, and in the second place because I am convinced that there is no such idea in the mind of any government in the world. There have been within my memory five or six great wars involving territorial modification, but, except as provided by treaties, in none of these cases has a third power ventured to interfere either in the campaign or in the terms of settlement. The powers have not claimed the right to interfere because they knew that according to international law they did not possess any such right. Dreams of that kind, therefore, should be dismissed as no more than dreams.

"Wherever we are victorious we shall consult the vast interests committed to our care and the vast duties we have to perform.

We shall take counsel of the uniform traditions of our Colonial government and maintain that equal justice to all races which it has been our uniform practice to observe."

It was on November 8 that Colenso was occupied by the Boers. The town, it will be remembered, is in Natal, on the Tugela River, and its occupation fixed the Boers at a vital point in the British communication by rail with Ladysmith across the Tugela. They had previously occupied Pomeroy, on the road connecting Dundee through Helvakaar with Greytown, and had also strongly guarded their left flank. The occupation of Colenso closed the retreat of Sir George White by railway, while at the same time the Boers were in a position to check the advance of a column to his relief, and they were enabled to bring their own entire force against Ladysmith.

The crossing of the Orange River by the Free Staters and the destruction of the railway lines and bridges toward Colesburg, Stormberg Junction and other points rendered it necessary to strengthen the British garrison at De Aar, in order to preserve communications with the southern part of Cape Colony and the coast.

Public feeling in England demanded that the first and supreme effort of General Sir Redvers Buller was to be the relief of Ladysmith. The military critic pronounced this bad military tactics for it was virtually playing into the hands of the Boers. Instead of fighting the decisive campaign in the spacious veldt above the Orange River, it was likely to be among the rough hills of Natal, where the Boers could choose their own battleground and bring into full play their deadly marksmanship.

While the nation took courage from the assurances of Lord Salisbury that there would be no foreign intervention, the more

thoughtful did not lose sight of the possibility of an attack upon Great Britain's interests in the far East or at other points while her energies were engrossed by the war in the Transvaal.

One keen cause of exasperation was the delay and the unreliability of the news from the seat of war. There were many explanations offered for this, such as the breaking down or overloading of the cable, but the censoring of the dispatches was as stupid as our own during the war with Spain, which is saying a great deal. The worst of it was that many of the seemingly important dispatches had not the slightest basis of truth. Thus it was stated in huge headlines that there had been a battle in which the Boers lost in killed, wounded and prisoners fully 2,000 men, and it was claimed that one of their leading generals had been captured. Nothing resembling either of these incidents occurred. This was not the first instance of such falsification and naturally it was not long before the public came to look upon the dispatches with suspicion. J. B. Robinson, the well-known South African millionaire, is one of the best of living authorities on all subjects relating to that portion of the Dark Continent. When he was asked concerning these contradictory reports, he replied:

"I have no hesitation in saying, from knowledge and experience of Boer warfare, that England has never yet encountered a body of men who will fight with such tenacity and such dire results as the Boer army. It must be remembered that these people are fighting with a determination to gain the ascendancy throughout South Africa, and their proclamations annexing British territory clearly indicate that they are resolved to establish themselves as the paramount power.

"The numbers of the forces given as constituting the two

armies of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State are grossly exaggerated. I maintain that the two Republics cannot put more than 23,000 or 25,000 men in the field, but they may have the addition of 3,000 mercenaries. They are all splendidly armed, and the artillery forms an important element of the armaments. The Transvaal has expended within three years about three millions in armament and in equipping its own and the Free State's burghers. I know that cannon were sent by the Transvaal to the Orange Free State, and every preparation was made to carry on the struggle with the utmost determination. The Natal country is well adapted to the Boer tactics."

The first fighting in connection with the relief of Kimberley occurred on November 10, some nine miles west of Belmont, which is a station twenty miles north of the Orange River, and on the railway to Kimberley. The British, who held the bridge strongly, sent out a reconnoitering force which came in collision with the Boers at the place referred to. In the fight that followed, the British lost, in killed and wounded, four officers and two soldiers. The railway bridge which spanned the Modderspruit thirty-five miles above Belmont had been destroyed by the Boers, so that any relief sent over that line would have to overcome this serious obstruction.

The reports that filtered through the investing lines from Kimberley were vague. It became known that the garrison and inhabitants were on short rations, and a dispatch to the War Office stated that one of the outposts at the waterworks had disappeared, which looked very much as if it had been captured by the Boers. The reports further said that Boer patrols had been seen in the vicinity of De Aar, and strong commandos had crossed the Orange River at Bethulie and Aliwal North.

Pietermaritzburg was known to be in danger, and the British put forth the utmost exertion to place it in a condition of defense. The special fear was that of the burgher force under the command of General Schalk-Burger, which was reported as approaching through Zululand.

No one could doubt that the situation of Ladysmith was critical. The hope was general that relief would reach General White by the close of the month, but the principal fear was of the breaking out of malarial fever among the garrison, because of its being compelled to use the muddy water of the Klip River, which runs through the town. One of the eventualities which some military critics in England looked upon as possible, was that Ladysmith would hold out long enough for General Joubert's army to be caught between two fires, thus compelling him to retreat with the loss of all his artillery, and this would be the "beginning of the end."

Signs of unrest among the natives caused the organization of a strong commando in the north of the Transvaal, and a place of refuge was chosen in the Zoutpansberg district in one of the old native fastnesses, to which the women and children could be sent. The South African Company's police in Rhodesia had their arms carefully examined and placed in the best of order against the same grave peril.



## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE DISADVANTAGES OF VICTORY

No higher type of human heroism has ever been seen than that displayed by the British soldier and sailor. In the War of the Revolution, the population of Great Britain and Wales was about double that of her American colonies, and at no time did England have 50,000 soldiers in America. And yet, though she was at war with France, Spain and Holland before the close of the struggle, the United States should have failed but for the help of France.

In the war of 1812, when the British troops had been trained to the highest point of efficiency in the struggle against Napoleon, the United States won precious little glory (New Orleans being the only conspicuous example) on the land, while the brilliant exploits of both navies filled the world with wonder. A generation later, England maintained her prestige in the Crimea, against the legions of Russia, since which period she has fought many wars, but none with those of her own race, until her struggle with the Boers.

Edgar S. Maclay in his History of the American Navy says the reason why the British suffered some defeats on the sea in 1812, while her seasoned land forces were doing splendid work, was because of the great confidence of the British officers. For twenty years they had been waging a naval warfare against France, whose discipline had been destroyed by the Revolution. This had extended so far that the captain was styled "citizen captain" and there was a total lack of real discipline on the French frigates. The English had also been fighting against the Spaniards, whose deficiency in

sustained valor was shown recently in the Spanish-American war. The easy victories of the English hurt the British sailor for battle against Anglo-Saxons, and those of his own blood, and it was only in the natural order of things, that when their superb warships encountered our own, that the contest should be exceedingly bitter.

England's mighty navy enables her to hold her supremacy on the sea, but, as has been stated, her soldiers have fought only black, yellow or brown men, for nearly a half century, with the result that, in some respects, she has really suffered from her many victories. This can be illustrated by a summary of the wars in which Great Britain has been engaged since that of the Crimea, which ended in 1856.

It was only a year later that the appalling Sepoy mutiny broke out in India. Then it was that the English soldier showed his thrilling heroism, his capacity to bear hardship and suffering, and his readiness to face death in every conceivable form for the sake of his country and of humanity. Through that pestilential region, smitten by cholera, throbbing with infernal heat, and arrayed against a devilish fanaticism, the soldiers swept like a cyclone, releasing Cawnpore, Lucknow and Delhi from the grip of the tiger, and restoring peace and order to a country whose native population is five times that of England.

All admit that the British flag means a good deal in this world. Let an English tramp be kicked a little too hard from the door of an official on the other side of the globe, and let the subject make his grievance known to the British consul. The next step in the programme is the arrival of British force, with notice to the offending official that he has the choice of apologizing to the offended subject and paying him a handsome indemnity,

or of having his town knocked about his ears by the guns of the warships.

In 1856, a Canton river boat was seized and the crew disciplined. The boat was flying the British flag, but, as a matter of fact, had no right to do so, and its purpose in hoisting it was to conceal and aid a band of Chinese pirates. Technically, however, the British flag had been insulted and the consul would not be placated. The quarrel grew into a war, and Sir Michael Seymour bombarded Canton from October 23 to November 13, while an infantry force made demonstrations near the city.

The course of England in this matter was criticised at home, and there was so much dissatisfaction over the action of the British representatives in China, who, it is alleged, were acting under the instructions of their government, that on motion of Mr. Cobden, the House of Commons passed a vote of censure, whereupon Lord Palmerston's ministry dissolved Parliament, appealed to the country to stand by its sailors and soldiers, and was overwhelmingly replaced in power.

Poor, miserable China soon discovered that France had been offended by the ill treatment of some of her missionaries. England let China alone during the time of the Sepoy mutiny, but in the latter part of 1857, she joined France in an attack upon Canton, which was captured, including the Chinese Commissioner, Yeh. A treaty resulted with England and France, highly advantageous to each.

In June, 1859, English and French representatives set out for Pekin to exchange ratifications of the treaty with the Emperor's representatives. The fleet acting as an escort to the foreign representatives, was fired upon when ascending the river, and the

expedition forced to withdraw. The following year, the two European powers sent their representatives with a strong force to compel obedience to the provisions of the treaty, one of which was that the foreign ambassadors should be admitted to Pekin. The Chinese made a brave resistance, but could not withstand the vastly superior armament brought against their antiquated forts and means of defense. In this business, Sir Garnet Wolseley won distinction and the conquerors were granted everything they demanded.

Somewhat earlier than these occurrences, the British minister to Persia had a quarrel with the Shah's government, in consequence of which General Outram and General Havelock entered northern Persia with a powerful column, whereupon Persia made haste to grant every demand of England.

The Sepoy mutiny referred to spread to Afghanistan where the fanatical population thought the opportunity too good to be lost. The Indian tribes on the frontier were incited to rebellion by Russian agents on the other side of the country, and there has been tension between them and the English for most of the century. In the latter part of 1859, a British expedition was sent against the Kabul Kheyl Wuzzerees, and a second, some months later against the Mahsood Wuzzerees. The flames of resistance were fanned by the fugitive Sepoys and Hindu devotees, and a number of border raids were made.

In October, 1863, when the state of affairs had become intolerable, the Punjab government sent thither a column of 6,000 men, with nineteen guns, who, upon entering the Umbeyla Pass in October, encountered furious resistance. A fortnight later, 2,000 natives attacked an advance post on a pinnacle so small that only 110 soldiers could find footing on it, while about the same number

were posted at the base. A fierce fight raged one whole afternoon, resulting in the defeat of the natives who left the ground covered with their dead. Of the British, three officers and twenty-six men were killed, and nine officers and eighty-six men wounded.

The news of the terrific fight was carried to the neighboring tribes who came swarming over the hills, determined that not one of the foreigners should escape alive. In a brief time, 15,000 of the tribesmen were encamped near the outlet of the pass, and attacked by turns with the utmost ferocity of the gallant little band. Armed only with spears, they frequently fought their way into the breastworks, where they were shot down and bayoneted. The fighting lasted at intervals for three weeks, at the end of which time the defenders were relieved and the sullen natives withdrew.

Resolved to teach the barbarians a needed lesson, a force of 7,800 men in December, set out to capture the principal fortress on a hill near the entrance to the pass. It was so steep that it resembled the side of a house, and was encircled by a number of stone breastworks. One of the attacking columns lined the surrounding ridges with infantry and artillery, and the charge straight up the hill was covered with another column. The amazing audacity of the assault threw the tribesmen into a panic, and, flinging down their weapons, they fled for their lives, leaving more than 400 killed and wounded, that of the British being 83. In quickness and sharpness, this action has not been surpassed in modern times. The blow was a severe one, and the natives retired to their homes, after making a treaty not to go upon any more border raids.

At different times from 1863 to 1880, similar expeditions were sent against the Mohmunds, and into Bhootan, Lushai and the

Naga Hills. It was in the year last named, that Lord Roberts, of Kandahar, appointed in December, 1899, to the chief command in South Africa, won his peerage in Afghanistan. This fighting was much of the same character as that of our own against the Indians on the frontier. While it gave no training in regular warfare, a sentinel learned that it was sure death to be neglectful, even for a brief time, while on duty.

The Abyssinian campaign was an extraordinary one. In 1855, Lij Kasa, who had spent several years in a convent on the Blue Nile, conceived that he had a mission to build up a Christian dynasty in Abyssinia, and he proclaimed himself "Theodore, King of the Kings of Ethiopia." This project was more or less encouraged by the English consul. Theodore wrote a letter to Queen Victoria in 1861, and sent it through Captain Cameron, the succeeding British consul. In the letter he dwelt with rude eloquence on his mission, but said he was lacking in the means of carrying it into effect, and he begged that the Queen would provide him with arms and the sinews of war.

When Captain Cameron returned to his post, in January, 1864, he found Theodore very angry because he had received no answer to his letter. In truth it never went further than the foreign office, which did not think enough of it to deliver it to the Queen, or indeed to pay any attention at all to it.

There is no record in history of such momentous consequences following the failure of a lady to answer a missive addressed to her. When an explanation was demanded of Captain Cameron his reply was a lame one, for it will be seen that it was impossible for him to make one that would satisfy the bigoted monarch, who next sharply asked why the consul, instead of coming direct to Abyssinia, had

turned aside to enter Soudan. Perhaps Cameron might have done better in smoothing over this seemingly discourteous act, had he been given the chance, but it was denied him. Without waiting for his words, the king declared English Christianity a sham, and added that he meant to punish Queen Victoria for the slight put upon him. He made prisoners of all the foreigners in his dominions, including Cameron, and some of the captives were subjected to torture.

As might be supposed, England was indignant when she learned of the outrage. Theodore received enough letters from the foreign office to compensate him a dozen times over for the Queen's neglect. He replied that he was keeping Great Britain's subjects in prison because he wanted men and machinery with which he could make gunpowder and guns. To placate the savage ruler, the government sent him several skilled artisans. The King made use of their services, and caused an arsenal to be built, but would not release his captives.

By this time it was apparent that he was amenable to only one argument—that of force. He felt secure in his far away African empire and looked upon the concessions of England as proofs of her helplessness to punish him. He was still soured over the failure of his first letter to bring a reply from the Queen, and remained as self-willed and resentful as ever. Finally, Sir Robert Napier was placed at the head of an expedition to Magdala with orders to upset the obdurate king.

The army, numbering 12,000, was marched 400 miles over the rugged mountains to Magdala. Learning of their coming Theodore set free his captives with the impudent remark that he had held them on purpose to induce the Queen to send an army

respectable enough to put up a fair fight. Since he could not very well go to her country with an adequate force he adopted this method of bringing a British force within striking distance. One of the prisoners told him the approaching army was sure to defeat him.

"Let them come," was the contemptuous reply of the Theodore; "If I do not crush all of the Queen's soldiers, then you may set me down as a woman."

No intelligent person could fail to foresee the result. The British army arrived, fully armed, in good shape, and under the command of excellent leaders. The king's followers were charged and scattered like so much chaff. One thousand were killed, nearly all the rest put to flight and the fortress surrendered in April, 1867, the loss of the assailants being only one officer wounded. Theodore proved himself a monarch in one respect; for, when he saw all was lost, he killed himself, dying without receiving the long expected letter from the Queen of England, a failure which cost Great Britain \$10,000,000.

An irritating state of affairs existed for a long time in New Zealand, over the right of the native chiefs to sell land to the English settlers. The quarrel was much the same as that between the great Shawnee chieftain Tecumseh and the United States government, previous to the war of 1812. Tecumseh insisted that no tribe could sell land without the consent of all the tribes, since, as he maintained, it belonged to all in common. In New Zealand, after such sales had been made by a sub-chief, one higher in rank than he would angrily declare the sale void. The quarrels increased in acuteness until 1860, when the Maoris, who are brave and resolute, united in a war to the death against what they considered

GENERAL SIR A. HUNTER.

LIEUT-COL. R. S. S. BADEN-POWELL.

THE TOWN HALL, LADYSMITH, CONVERTED INTO A HOSPITAL.

AN INCIDENT IN THE BOMBARDMENT OF LADYSMITH—A SHELL IN THE  
KITCHEN OF THE 18TH HUSSARS.

English injustice. The Maoris are men of great stature, magnificent physique, capable of withstanding incredible fatigue, as fierce and courageous as Zulus, were armed with muskets which the tribes had used for many years against one another, and, though many were nominally Christians, owing to the efforts of early missionaries, they would not give up the hideous practice of eating the prisoners whom they took in battle.

In addition to this they were good engineers and skilled tacticians, and the sight of a body of them engaged in a war dance was enough to terrify the stoutest soldier. The war upon which they entered was prosecuted with more or less fury for ten years. As evidence of the lofty state of civilization attained by the Maoris, it may be recalled that one of their number visited America some years ago, and posed as a trained athlete and wrestler.

The natives adopted the most effective method of fighting disciplined troops, which may be described as modeled in many respects after that of our own Indians. They cut off small detachments, burned and plundered villages, and, when the troops arrived, skurried off to the bush. They showed no little skill in erecting fortifications, which usually consisted of three rows of bamboo fences, backed by earth. When driven from the first, they ran behind the second and shot the white soldiers as they swarmed over the first line.

Exasperated by this destructive resistance, the commanders ordered the defenses to be undermined and blown up. When the hard task was completed and everything was ready for the explosion, it was found that the Maoris had withdrawn to a similar fortification a safe distance away. Once, when the laborious mining was under way, a flag of truce arrived from the opposing chief,

conveying his compliments and the message that he was growing impatient over the delay; he added, that finding he had a number of sappers idle, he would lend them to the English in order to hasten the completion of the channel under his fort, and thus bring matters to an issue.

This audacious letter was an exhibition of the Maori sense of humor which is one of their most marked characteristics. Despite the many sanguinary incidents of the war, they extracted a good deal of fun from it. A letter from one of them to his family said he and his comrades were so happy that they ate the English bullets. Sir Duncan Cameron, who advanced at the rate of a mile a day along the sea coast for two months, was dubbed "The Lame Seagull."

The difficulty of conquering these humorous wretches was so great that England kept pouring troops into New Zealand until they were ten times as numerous as the natives. One of the most extraordinary of all incidents occurred in January, 1863, when 300 Maoris were surrounded in a stockade by an overwhelming British force. They had no water, were raked by artillery and small arm fire, and a shower of hand grenades was rained upon them. They repulsed five desperate charges, but, seeing that their situation was hopeless, and admiring their wonderful bravery, General Cameron asked them to surrender with all the honors of war. To this demand the notable answer was returned:

"Kawhawhai tome, ake, ake, ake!" ("We fight right on, forever, forever, forever!")

When General Cameron received the message he asked the Maoris to send their women away, to which the reply came: "Our women want to fight as much as we do."

Three days later the Maoris charged out, leaping directly over one regiment of infantry that were lying in the rifle pits in front. Half of the daring fellows made their escape into the bush.

The greatest fight of the war was at a stockade between two swamps which effectually guarded the flanks of the Maoris. Their force was insignificant as compared with the British. A regiment of infantry was sent around to the rear to cut off the retreat of the Maoris, when Cameron proceeded to batter down the stockade with his eleven Armstrong guns, two howitzers and six mortars. When a breach had been made, a charge was ordered. All this time the natives, by lying low in excavations inside the stockade, had escaped receiving so much as a wound. Waiting until the English were directly upon them, they leaped to their feet and fought with the fierceness of tigers. The British were decisively repulsed and fled tumultuously out of the intrenchments, but two of them won the Victoria Cross by bravely rescuing wounded comrades who were in danger of being left behind.

Matters remained at a standstill until darkness, when the garrison fought its way out, suffering only a slight loss, while that of the British was ten officers and one hundred and one men. Some days later the British came upon a party of Maoris working upon new fortifications, and in a fierce attack killed one hundred and forty-five of them. A partial cessation of hostilities followed, but the war continued fitfully for a number of years. The Maoris refused to surrender or compromise their quarrel. The British troops were gradually withdrawn, and skillful diplomacy at last brought permanent peace. Franchise was granted to the native men and women, who have long had representatives in the Colonial Parliament, while New Zealand itself is at this writing on

the eve of joining the federation of Great Britain's Australian colonies.

Over on the west coast of Africa lies the Ashantee territory, formerly owned by the Dutch, who paid tribute to Great Britain. In 1873, the King of the Ashantees notified the English government that it must pay to him the same tribute that had formerly been received by it from Holland. England refused, whereupon the Ashantee ruler took his revenge by a murderous onslaught upon a tribe friendly to the English, and nearly wiped them out of existence. Sir Garnet Wolseley was ordered to West Africa with a force which conquered the Ashantees in January, 1874, captured the capital, Coomassie, and burned it. The invaders suffered slight loss, and the king, thoroughly cowed, submitted without protest to the terms of the conquerors.

An insurrection broke out among the Kaffirs along the Orange River, in 1857, but Great Britain was so busily occupied elsewhere, that she made no attempt for three years to restore order. Then it was effected, but trouble occurred again in 1877; this time, however, it was soothed with little difficulty,

Afghanistan has long been a thorn in the side of Great Britain, mainly because of Russian intrigue, that country being exceedingly jealous of British advancement in that quarter. If war ever occurs between the two powers, it will probably be on account of mutual encroachments in this part of Asia where England sees her Indian possessions threatened by the "earth hunger" of the Czar. As has been stated, there had been strong tension for years, and finally the Emir of Afghanistan, in 1878, backed by Russian encouragement, made an effort to shut out the British from his territory. In November, of that

year, three British columns advanced from India into Afghan territory.

Sir Donald Stewart moved from Kandahar; a second column, under Sir Samuel Brown, passed through the Khyber Pass, while a third under Major Roberts (now Lord Roberts, of Kandahar), marched out through Kuram. It was the last column which had the lion's share of fighting. The position of the Afghans, on the side of a steep mountain at the other end of the pass, was impregnable against a direct attack. At night, Roberts moved the larger part of his force to the left flank of the position, and the next morning, in a valiant charge, drove out the natives pell mell. His success would have been greater, but for the treachery of several Sepoy guides, who managed to warn the Afghans of their danger.

Their defeat, however, was so disastrous that they consented to negotiations, and agreed to allow a British residency to be established at Cabul. Within less than a month after such establishment, all the English were attacked and massacred by an Afghan mob. There was no doubt that the Emir encouraged this outrage, or at any rate, he took no steps to prevent it. He would not punish the criminals, and England determined to do it herself.

Roberts reorganized his force, and, with no serious resistance, fought his way to Cabul, at which place the Emir came out to meet him. A severe battle was fought in September, 1879, during which the unprecedented spectacle was seen of the army, technically in rebellion against the Emir, being directed by him while in the British camp. This was suspected by Roberts, and, though seeming incredible, he afterward proved it was true. The British loss was eighteen killed and seventy wounded, that of the Afghans

being five times as great. The engagement figures in history as the battle of Charasia.

Roberts and his troops remained in Cabul throughout the winter, during which stern justice was meted out to those directly responsible for the massacre at the residency. All northern Afghanistan was practically under English rule, but in December, it may be said, the whole Afghan population rose in revolt. There was no way by which reinforcements could reach Roberts, and his situation daily grew more critical. The most painful anxiety was felt throughout England for him and his troops, and the fear became general that all would be annihilated. In several battles fought with the fierce natives among the hills, the British were defeated, and finally they were forced out of Cabul, and compelled to make their final stand in what is known as the Sherpur fortress. The Afghans assailed the position with irrestrainable fury through a period of more than a week, but the coolness and discipline of the troops held them off and the repeated failures discouraged them. While engaged in their last attack, a sortie was made by a portion of the garrison which turned the flank of the besiegers and scattered them so effectually that the peril of the garrison was ended.

The fighting that followed was in the nature of skirmishing until the month of July, when Roberts, who was making ready to take his force back to India, learned that General Burrows, who had less than 3,000 men, was in imminent peril from 25,000 Afghans, who held him surrounded near Kandahar. He was attacked at Marwand in the latter part of the month, and, his ammunition giving out, he lost 1,100 men, the rest escaping to Kandahar where they were penned in. Roberts, with a force of

10,000 men, set out to rescue Burrows and his command, after which a full month passed before any news was received from him. Then the thrilling tidings came that he had succeeded in relieving the imperilled force and had administrated a severe defeat to the Afghans.

Diplomacy was again appealed to and Russia and England united in installing Abdur Rahman as Emir. He pledged himself to keep the passes open and to protect British residents, whereupon Roberts returned, with his army, to India, having well won the honors which a grateful country showered upon him. The situation in that part of Asia, however, is best described as an armed truce between Russia and England, liable to broken at any time.

Our attention once more turns to South Africa, where the well organized and daring Zulus caused trouble. This has been referred to in another part of this work, but it may be recalled that as early as 1873 they were at war with the Boers, and in December, 1878, a special British Commission was sent to invite Cetewayo, head chief of the Zulus, to dissolve his military organization, to protect missionaries and to allow his subjects to be fined when they did not behave well. This invitation was really the gloved hand of steel, and Cetewayo was informed that he must do as requested or go to war. He went to war.

The reader hardly needs to be reminded of Lord Chelmsford's advance into Zululand toward Ulandi, the capital, nor of the annihilation of two battalions of British troops with 3,000 native allies, at Isandhlwana on January 22, 1879; the repulse of the Zulus at Roshe's Drift and Ekowe; the withdrawal and return of Chelmsford in March with a force of 6,000 men, and his defeat of the Zulus at Ginquilvo; of another defeat and the suing for peace by the Zulus;

their dissatisfaction with the terms and renewal of the war; of a second battle at Ulandi and the burning of the town, and finally of the capture of Cetewayo by Sir Garnet Wolseley, who sent him to England, where he was placed on exhibition, and afterward supported as a distinguished pensioner upon the bounty of his conquerors.

It was the Zulu raids on the Boers in 1877 which started the first war of Great Britain with the Boers, the particulars of which have already been given.

That royal miscreant, King Thebaw, of Burmah, hated the English with such implacability that when he ascended the throne in 1878, he set on foot a system of persecution intended to drive them out of his domains. He encouraged his subjects to insult the English officers and residents, and, growing bolder, determined to force every Englishman from the Irawaddy Valley. One of his outrageous acts, in 1884, was to fine a British company again and again without any pretense of justice, and with the evident intention of securing all their property. His conduct became so unbearable that Great Britain presented an ultimatum, demanding that he should receive their resident without humiliating ceremonies. Thebaw treated the notice with contempt, but was compelled to give heed to it when a force of 10,000 men and seventy-seven guns advanced against him. His army was routed, Mandalay captured, and Thebaw taken to India as a prisoner. The final chapter was reached in 1886, when England annexed Burmah.

The next subject demanding attention is the English occupation of Egypt, where troubles made by the Mahdi in that country caused England to send 11,000 men, under Hicks Pasha, to Suakin, in behalf of the Khedive. The expedition reached Khartoum early in 1883. It remained there until November, when Hicks Pasha

tried to take the Mahdi's headquarters at El Obeid. The army was hemmed in the Kasgil passes, and, though it fought desperately for several days, the 50,000 Mahdists annihilated it.

Ahmed Arabi, colonel of the Fourth Egyptian Regiment, headed a military revolt at Cairo, was made commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army without the consent of the Khedive, and the war cry was raised of "Egypt for the Egyptian." Ahmed began strengthening the defenses of Alexandria, which was bombarded by the British fleet on July 11, 1883. A good defense was made, the ships being repeatedly struck, and five men were killed and twenty-eight wounded, but the Egyptian loss is not known. When a force was landed it was found that Arabi had used the white flag, hoisted the day before, to cover his retreat. The city was sacked during the bombardment and many of the Christian inhabitants massacred.

A month later Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived in Egypt with a force sufficient to crush the rebellion, and, acting in conjunction with Admiral Seymour, he seized the Suez Canal and joined an Indian contingent at Ismailia. Some skirmishing followed, when Wolseley attacked Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir and defeated him after some sharp fighting, but Arabi succeeded in escaping.

The mission of Chinese Gordon to Khartoun and his imprisonment there by an overwhelming force will be remembered. England was slow in going to his rescue and many to-day bitterly blame their government for its neglect of one of the most valiant and chivalrous soldiers that ever fought under her flag. Finally, a force of 7,000 men were started in that direction. A fragment of this force was attacked by an immense body of Arabs near Metemneh, but they were beaten off with great slaughter. The expedition fought its way to Khartoum, but when it arrived there, found that Gordon

had been killed, having been attacked at his quarters, where he defended himself to the last gasp, and died only after slaying a number of his assailants. The expedition of rescue, therefore, accomplished nothing.

Since then there has been continual friction on the northern frontier of India, due to the causes already named. By her vigilance in punishing rebellious chiefs Great Britain has succeeded thus far in keeping the Russian "sphere of influence" from creeping too near her borders. Some of the fighting displayed by the English has been of the highest quality, such as the subjection of the Kaniut tribes of the Kashmir in 1891, the Chitra campaign of 1897, and the Tira campaign of a year later.

From the incidents related, it will be seen that, with the single exception of the Boer war of 1879-80, hardly a British officer or soldier has seen any service against white men. It may be repeated that no greater daring and skill have ever been displayed than that of the British in many of these battles with the fiercest of fanatical wild men, who look upon death as the open door to eternal glory and happiness, and who fought, in many instances, without an emotion of fear. Nevertheless, such foes are less formidable than civilized soldiers, with their perfect discipline, their knowledge of tactics, their superior modern arms and their trained leaders.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### THE TUG OF WAR

The student of history will note many striking parallels (some of which have been referred to in another place) between the war waged by Great Britain in South Africa and the suppression of the great rebellion in the United States from 1861 to 1865. The North, like England, commanded overwhelming resources; the South was greatly outnumbered, and, in respect of financial ability, there was no comparison between the two sections.

The South fought a defensive war; the Southerners were united, resolute and determined; they believed they were fighting for their homes, their firesides, and their most cherished principles; they were as brave and skillful as their conquerors, but not braver nor more skillful; when the strife began, they were better prepared than their more numerous foes, and, for a time, as must always be the case, victory was on the side of the weaker party.

In the North and in Great Britain were two distinct parties; those who favored an appeal to arms, and those who opposed, and at least believed that such an appeal could be postponed, if not wholly averted. This division of sentiment lasted until the actual outbreak of hostilities, when there instantly came a majority opinion to maintain the integrity and honor of the country, no matter how great the cost and sacrifice demanded.

In some respects Great Britain, in 1899, was at a greater disadvantage than the North in 1861. The Federal Government, after mobilizing its volunteers, had to march or transport them only a

few miles in order to enter the territory of the enemy. The Union troops sent to the defense of Washington, in April, 1861, were among cheering friends in Philadelphia, and two or three hours later were fighting secessionists in Baltimore, and later, on the same day, cheered to the echo in the national capital. The armies of the North and South were often carried by rail or boat to desired points.

On the other hand, Great Britain has had to carry the bulk of her troops and munitions of war more than a fourth of the way round the globe. After reaching South Africa, they were obliged to march a long distance into the interior, across a strange country, as extensive as that lying between Chicago and the Rocky Mountains, sometimes under the direction of treacherous guides, or over railway lines that had been wrecked, and through sections where every foot was familiar to a brave enemy, armed with the best modern weapons, led by skillful officers, and inspired by a patriotism that was fanatical in its intensity.

The conditions being such, British defeat in the earlier stages of the war was as certain as the rising of the sun. Great Britain showed commendable patience with the military leaders when they were overtaken by disaster, for, in every instance, officers and privates fought with the same splendid valor that their ancestors displayed on hundreds of crimson fields, but, after all, there is no escaping the fact that while some of the first blunders were excusable, many of those that followed were not, for they were only repetitions of the first. It has been said that the wisest man is liable to make a mistake, but mistakes should be accepted as a warning and should not be repeated.

Away back in 1755, the French and Indians lured General

Braddock into a trap and then destroyed his army. The Boers resorted to the same tactics with the British forces, and the exasperating feature of it all was that they were repeatedly successful. The English officers have been slow in learning the frightfully dear lesson. The Boer methods which brought Jameson's raid to a disastrous end were used again and again on a larger scale against the well-equipped armies of Great Britain, and it cannot be wondered that impatience and indignation stirred England, but in every instance this feeling was followed by the flashing eye, the compressed lip and the unalterable resolve: "We shall win, if it takes the last Englishman in the Empire!"

Previous to the telegraphing of the Transvaal's ultimatum to England, the Boers, well aware that it meant war, set a number of military movements on foot and pushed them with characteristic vigor. A dispatch from Newcastle, Natal, stated that they had left the laager at Volksrust and were moving toward the frontier, where the situation was most critical. The women and children were ordered to leave for the interior of Natal. The camp on the Natal border was said to number 8,000 men, all stirred by a deep religious fervor and a great enthusiasm in the struggle for independence.

The news from both sides in the region of hostilities was rigorously censored, so that it was often unreliable, and the accounts received from the British commanders were naturally one-sided. But history was making fast in South Africa, and the tidings sent to England soon became of the most exciting nature. On the 14th of October, Mr. Cecil Rhodes declared in a dispatch from Kimberley that the city was as safe as Piccadilly, but this message was followed by another the next day, conveying the intelligence that

Kimberley was besieged by the Boers and all communication with the place, either by mail or telegraph, was cut off.

Mr. Conyngham Greene, formerly the diplomatic agent at Pretoria, left that city on the outbreak of hostilities and arrived at Cape Town on the evening of the 14th. A number of horses belonging to the police patrol were seized by the Boers near De Jager's Drift, on the Buffalo River, some ten miles northeast of Dundee, Natal, and the riders captured. Shots were exchanged between British and Boer scouts in the neighborhood of Glencoe, a few miles west of Dundee, Natal, where a British force was encamped, but no injury was done on either side. Later dispatches were to the effect that the Boers had cut the railway at Belmont, fifty-six miles south of Kimberley, and also at a point considerably nearer Kimberley. They seized the railway station at Spyfontein, near the city, and fortified it with earthworks, their eager desire being to capture Cecil Rhodes, who would prove a strong card to play against Great Britain. The inhabitants were calm and confident and had a force of 4,000 men with which to defend the place.

An armored train, preceded by a pilot engine, was wrecked by the Boers near Vryburg, the incident being thus described by the driver of the pilot engine:

"The train consisted of an armored car, in which were fifteen men, a short truck loaded with ammunition, and a bogey car carrying two big guns and a quantity of shells. An officer of the mounted police at Maribogo warned Captain Nesbitt, who was in charge of the train, that Boers were on the line, but Captain Nesbitt gave the order to go ahead. It was dark at the time. The pilot engine was about forty yards in advance of the train. When near Kraai Pan it ran off the line. I got down and showed a red light,

stopping the train behind. I found loose rails near the track and began to fix the line where the Boers had removed the rails. Almost immediately shots were fired from a dried water-course, where the Boers were hiding. Some of the train crew were wounded.

"The Boers snipped us all night and at daybreak started with their big guns. All their shells were aimed at the engine, which was soon in a bad way. All this time I was lying down inside the truck, until I heard an officer order a flag of truce to be shown. Two flags were raised, but the Boers paid no heed to them for about a quarter of an hour. When they ceased firing, I got out of the truck and crawled on my stomach for about a mile and a half, until the Boers were out of sight. I had a miraculous escape. I made my way to Maribogo. I do not know what became of the others, but feel certain that all were taken prisoners. The Boers' shells did not touch the trucks containing the guns. The ammunition must have fallen into the hands of the Boers undamaged."

Newcastle was occupied on the 14th by the Boers under Commandante Viljoen, who sent a message warning the inhabitants of his coming and assuring them that no one would be molested. He said he only wanted forage and food, for which he would pay. An official statement was issued on the 16th, stating that Natal had been invaded by three columns of Boers by way of Bothas Pass, Laings Nek and Matts Nek, respectively, with an estimated force of 11,000 men, all of which columns were converging upon Newcastle. An express rider from Kimberley succeeded in passing through the Boer forces surrounding the city and reached the Orange River. He reported that the troops and residents in Kimberley were free from all panic, and confident of being able to hold out against any force the Boers could bring against them. All the

same, the messenger urged the necessity of sending reinforcements at the earliest possible moment for the defense of the town. Complete possession of the railway from Orange River to Kimberley was obtained by the Boers.

The magnificent railway bridge over the Tugela River was destroyed by the Boers on November 15. A few days later the first authentic account of the terrific charge at Dundee and of the strange battlefield of Elands Laagte was received, and, although the news was three weeks old, it is of such stirring interest that it deserves record. What a word picture is drawn by the cool, clear-headed correspondent of the *London Times*:

"As soon as the Boer guns were silenced by our artillery, General Symons gave the order for an assault on Talana Hill. The hill rises 800 feet and the distance to the top is more than a mile. The first portion of the ascent is gentle and over open ground to a homestead surrounded by broken woods. Above the woods the ground is rough and rocky, the ascent is steep, and half way up a thick stone wall runs around the hill as the fringe of a wide terrace of open ground.

"Above the terrace the ascent is almost perpendicular, and at the end of this was the Boer position, on the flat top, so characteristic of African hills. Altogether the position seemed impregnable, even if held by a small body against large forces, and General Symons must have had extraordinary confidence in his men when he ordered 2,000 of them to take it in the teeth of a terrible and well-sustained fire from superior numbers of skilled riflemen. His confidence was fully justified.

"It is said that he deliberately resolved to show the Boers that Majuba Hill was not the measure of what British infantry could

TROOPS RETURNING TO LADYSMITH AFTER A SORTEE.

"THE MEN WITH THE LONG KNIVES WERE AMONG US."—From a Boer Dispatch.

do, and, if so, he more than succeeded. To find a parallel for the endurance, tenacity and heroic determination to press forward over all obstacles and at all hazards, one has to go back to Wellington's invincible infantry in the Peninsula.

"The men had to go through eight hours of fighting without breakfast. The wood was the first cover available, and in the rush for this position the Dublin Fusiliers led the way, though afterward the three regiments went practically side by side.

"The advance of the infantry was covered by a vigorous cannonade, but the appearance of our men in the open was the signal for a storm of rifle fire from the Boers. Though our losses at this stage were extraordinarily small, in the wood, which for some time marked the limit of the advance, they were considerable, and here, about 9:30 o'clock, General Symons, who had galloped up to tell the men that the hill must be taken, fell mortally wounded. Throughout the morning he had exposed himself perhaps unnecessarily. His position was always marked by a red flag carried by his orderly.

"By ten o'clock our men, creeping up inch by inch, and taking advantage of every available cover, had gained the shelter of the stone wall, but for a long time further advance seemed impossible. As often as a man became visible the Boers poured a deadly fire in his direction, while, whatever their losses from our artillery fire, they rarely afforded a mark for the rifle.

"About twelve o'clock, however, a lull in their fire afforded our men an opportunity for scaling the wall and dashing across the open ground beyond. Then the almost sheer ascent of the last portion of the hill began. Here our losses were greatest, the Rifles losing most heavily.

"Colonel Gunning, who was always in front of his men, was shot

through the head. Near the top of the hill Captain Pechell, who had only arrived two days before from the Soudan, also fell. Out of seventeen officers the battalion lost five killed and seven wounded. As our men neared the top of the hill our guns were compelled to slacken their fire, and the Boers, of course, were enabled to strengthen their rifle fire accordingly. The last portion of the ascent was rushed with their bayonets, but the Boers did not await the charge. A few, who stood ground to near the end, were seen flying precipitately across the top of the hill when our men reached the crest. About thirty dead and wounded were lying on the ground, and cases of ammunition and Mauser rifles strewn about showed the hurry of the flight. Boer ponies were galloping about, and one of the humorous sights of the day was to see the Dublin Fusiliers gaily riding back these captive steeds."

The following vivid account of the remarkable battle of Elands Laagte is by G. W. Stevens:

"Our guns moved to a position toward the right and the Boer guns opened fire. Lord, but those German gunners knew their business! The third or fourth shell pitched into a wagon full of shells with a team of eight horses hitched to it. We held our breath for the explosion, but when the smoke cleared away only the near wheeler lay on his side and the wagon had its wheels in the air. Our batteries bayed again and the Boer guns were silent.

"The attack was to be made on their front and left flank. The Devonshires formed for the front attack and the Manchesters on the right. The Gordon Highlanders edged to the extreme rightward with a long, boulder-freckled hill above them. The guns flung shrapnel across the valley. The cavalry were in leash, straining towards the enemy's flanks,

"It was about a quarter to five and it seemed curiously dark. No wonder, for as the men moved forward the heavens opened and from the eastern sky swept a sheet of rain. With the first stabbing drops the horses turned their heads and no whip or spur could bring them up to it. It drove through mackintoshes as if they were blotting paper. The air was filled with a hissing sound, and under foot you could see the solid earth melting into mud and the mud flowing away in the water. The rain blotted out hill, dale and the enemy in one gray curtain of swooping water. You would have said that the heavens had opened to drown the wrath of man.

"Through it the guns still thundered and the Khaki columns pushed doggedly on. The infantry came among the boulders and began to open out. The supports and reserves followed. Then, in a twinkling, on the stone-pitted hill's face burst loose that other storm, a storm of lead and blood and death. In the first line, down behind the rocks, the men were firing fast, and the bullets came flickering around them. The men stopped and started, staggered and dropped limply, as if a string that held them upright had been cut. The line pushed on and a colonel fell, shot in the arm. The regiment pushed on, and they came to a rocky ridge twenty feet high. They clung to the cover firing, then rose and were among the shrill bullets again. A major was left at the bottom of the ridge with a pipe in his mouth and a Mauser bullet through his leg. His company pushed on. Down again, fire again, up again and on. Another ridge won and passed and only more hellish hail of bullets beyond. More men down, more men pushed into the firing line, more death-piping bullets than ever. The air was a sieve of them; they beat on the boulders like a million hammers; they tore the turf-like harrows.

"Another ridge crowned, another welcoming, whistling gust of perdition. More men down, more pushed into the firing line. Half the officers were down. The men puffed, stumbled on, another ridge taken. God, would this cursed hill never end! It was sown with bleeding and dead behind, it was edged with a stinging fire before.

"On and now it was surely the end. Merry bugles rang like a cock crow on a fine morning. 'Fix bayonets.' Staff officers rushed shouting from the rear, imploring, cajoling, cursing, slamming every man who could move into line, but it was a line no longer; it was a surging wave of men. The Devons, Gordons, Manchesters and Light Horse were all mixed—subalterns commanding regiments, soldiers yelling advice, officers firing carbines, stumbling, leaping, killing, falling, all drunk with battle. And there beneath our feet was the Boer camp, and the last of the Boers galloping out of it. There, also, thank Heaven, were squadrons of Lancers and Dragoon Guards storming in among them, shouting, spearing, stamping them into the ground.

"'Cease fire.' It was over. Twelve hours of march, of reconnaissance, waiting and preparation, and half an hour of attack, but half an hour crammed with the life of a half lifetime."

Lieutenant Webb, a well-known Johannesburger and a member of the Imperial Light Horse, who shared the charge up the precipitous hill at Elands Laagte, writes that the battle was a terrible slaughter, too terrible for the victory, which had yet to be won. "The artillery shells burst within ten yards of us all around," he says, "yet some of our men had to sit on their horses at 'attention' under this fire for an hour. I saw some horrible sights. One Gordon Highlander got a shell right in the face, knocking his head

clear off. We charged to the cannon's mouth, the Gordon Highlanders using the bayonet. The Boers were very plucky, shouted to us to come on, and stood to the last. The Lancers charged those who ran. Some who went on their knees and prayed for mercy were let off. Others did this and then shot our men as they went away. One cur killed a Gordon Highlander officer who had spared him. Colonel Schiel played the part of a man, when badly wounded, refusing help until our men had been attended to. We killed and wounded all their officers."

The Boers displayed great activity. In the latter part of November they occupied the railway and the hills behind Estcourt, and destroyed the bridge over the Mooi River, thus isolating the command of General Hildyard at Estcourt. The British force at that time actually in the field, including the Colonial levies of all kinds, was about 60,000 strong, but of these fully 16,000 were neutralized in the blockaded towns. There was general uneasiness over the attitude of the Dutch population of Cape Colony, and, despite the efforts of the politicians of the Afrikander Bond to prevent these people openly declaring in favor of the Boers, large numbers of the young men joined their ranks.

The following terse dispatch from General Lord Methuen caused a pleasant thrill upon its reception by the War Office in London:

"Belmont, November 23.—I attacked the enemy at daybreak this morning in a strong position on the three ridges, which was carried successfully, the last attack being prepared by shrapnel. The infantry behaved splendidly and received support from the naval brigade and artillery. The enemy fought with courage and skill. Had I attacked later I should have had severe losses. The victory was complete. I have forty prisoners. I am burying a

good number of Boers, but the greater part of the killed and wounded were taken away by their comrades. I have a large number of horses and cows. I destroyed a large amount of ammunition."

General Methuen reported his losses as 25 officers, 2,183 men killed and wounded and 18 men missing. This success seemed to remove the first obstacle in the path of the Kimberley relief column, but the incompleteness of the dispatch left room for misgivings.

Matters did not look so promising in Natal, where, from Pietermaritzburg to Ladysmith, the situation was most peculiar. Such an alternation of forces was never before seen. There were British troops at Pietermaritzburg, Boers at Balgowan, British at Mooi River, Boers at Willow Grange, British at Estcourt, Boers at Ennersdale, British within Ladysmith and Boers without. The able military critic of the *Morning Post* said:

"Whatever General Joubert's intentions may be, he is undoubtedly playing a deep and brilliant game. To have paralyzed the British advance the moment it began, to have cut the relieving column into three parts and compelled each to stand on the defensive, cut off from its base and leaving the latter almost at the mercy of the foe, is an achievement which must always be remembered to his credit as a general, however his future operations may be mishandled."

The reports which immediately followed General Methuen's dispatch represented the moral effect of his victory as immense, since the enemy had boasted that they could hold their position against all the forces England was able to send against them. The Boer prisoners admitted that their loss was considerable, and paid

warm tributes to the British troops, who climbed the steep kopjes in the face of a murderous discharge as coolly as if on parade, notwithstanding the fact that their comrades were dropping in every direction. The Boer fire, although furious and well sustained, became wild, and they were completely demoralized by the British shell fire. The Ninth Lancers, pursuing the enemy, cut them up severely or turned the retreat into a rout. The victory would have been more decisive if the British had had more cavalry.

The battle was the first important one on Cape soil. General Methuen's force of 7,000 men was opposed to the Boers from Boshof, Jakobsdal and Fauresmith. Their cannon were placed in excellent positions and they made a stubborn resistance. The British carried at the point of the bayonet a position which had been occupied for weeks. They buried the Boer dead and cared for the wounded. Among the prisoners were a German commandant and six field cornets. The Grenadiers suffered the most, and in storming the hills lost two officers and twenty men.

The Boers had a force of 5,000 occupying the strongest possible position, and their defeat, therefore, was of the highest credit to British arms. The Queen sent her congratulations to Gen. Lord Methuen upon the brilliant action of her Guards, the Naval Brigade and other brave soldiers.

The public in England were vastly encouraged by the success of General Methuen, and believed that the tide had turned in South Africa, that that military leader would march almost unopposed to Kimberley, that General Gatacre would soon drive the Orange Free Staters across the Orange River toward Bloemfontein, and that General Buller would quickly start with a resistless force to the relief of Estcourt and Ladysmith.

But more thoughtful men were less sanguine. A far heavier battle, they were confident, awaited General Methuen at Modder River than he had fought at Belmont, and even then the relief of Kimberley could not be assured. With heavy reinforcements General Gatacre would be faced by a most difficult campaign against Stormberg and other Boer strongholds, and a strong force would be necessary to hold in subjection the rebellious Cape Colonists, while beyond all this loomed vague and frightful the bloody work awaiting the British army in the Natal passes.

Other serious problems could not be forgotten, among which was a threatened Basuto rising and the need of relieving Colonel Baden-Powell's gallant little force at Mafeking, but all this must needs be done slowly and with the utmost care. The feeling was general that a second full army corps should be sent out at the earliest moment.

The Kimberley relief column, under General Methuen, again came in collision with the Boers, November 25, at a place called Graspans, which was carried after a severe fight, in which both sides lost heavily. The Boer force was composed of Transvaal and Free State commandos, some 2,500 strong, supplied with artillery, and the whole under the command of the Transvaal general, Deleray. The principal fighting on the British side was done by the Ninth Brigade, the artillery and the Naval Brigade, while the cavalry, as usual, assailed the flank of the retreating Boers, who, however, carried off their artillery from the field.

The following dispatch reached the London War Office on November 26:

"Gen. Lord Methuen reports that he moved yesterday, November 25, at 8:30 A. M., with the Ninth Brigade, the mounted corps

and the Naval Brigade, the Guards following with the baggage. A force of 2,500 Boers, with six guns, including two machine guns, opposed him near Graspans. The action commenced at six A. M. The batteries fired shrapnel very accurately until the heights seemed clear. Then the Naval Brigade and infantry assaulted the position. The fighting was desperate until ten A. M., when the heights were carried, the Boers retreating on a line where the Ninth Lancers had been placed to intercept them. The result is unknown at the time of telegraphing. The artillery took immediate advantage of the enemy's retirement.

"Early in the action 500 Boers made an attack on the rear guard brigade. They met this and also protected the flanks. The Naval Brigade acted with the greatest gallantry and has suffered heavily. No particulars are yet known.

"The enemy showed the greatest stubbornness. They must have suffered heavily. Twenty have been buried. Thirty-five killed and forty wounded are known of. More than fifty horses were found dead in one place. One battery fired 500 rounds.

"The force must halt one day at Graspans to rest and replenish their ammunition. The force worked splendidly, and are prepared to overcome any difficulty. The Naval Brigade, Royal Marines, Second Yorkshire Light Infantry and First North Lancashire Regiment especially distinguished themselves.

"Regarding Thursday's fight, 81 Boers were killed or otherwise accounted for, 64 wagons were burned, and a large quantity of powder, 5,000 rounds of ammunition and 750 shells were blown up. Albrecht commanded the Boer artillery. Delerraye was in chief command."

One of the wounded Boer prisoners, when asked his opinion of

the British bayonet charge, replied: "Great heavens! do you think I waited for *that*?"

The number of British prisoners in the hands of the Boers up to November 15 was given out in London as 39 officers and 1,237 men, together with 62 others known as political prisoners. The official statement of losses from October 15 to November 15 was: Two hundred and twenty-two killed, 881 wounded and 1,676 missing, making the total loss, from all causes, 2,779. On the 1st of December the statement was made that the total casualty list amounted to 4,180, of whom 408 were killed, 1,806 wounded and 1,966 missing.

The Kimberley relief column, under General Methuen, reached the Modder River, which was at full flood, November 28, and found the Boers intrenched on the north bank, with two heavy guns and four Krupp guns in position, and a force said to number 8,000, though later reports showed it was less. The action was opened on the part of the British by a cannonade from the field batteries and rifle fire from the infantry on the southern side of the river. The fire, which was at long range, lasted the entire day, and under its cover a small British force was enabled to cross the stream on pontoons, the loss on both sides being slight. The Boers were finally driven from their position, and the British column found itself within twenty-two miles of Kimberley, a tremendous task still confronting it before it could relieve the beleaguered garrison.

General Methuen added, regarding this battle: "It was one of the hardest and most trying fights in the annals of the British army. I speak in terms of the highest praise of all engaged, especially the two batteries of artillery."

The making up of a fifth division for South Africa now began, to number 11,013 officers and men, with 1,263 horses, 18 field and

9 machine guns. A detailed list of the British army in South Africa at that time was: Thirteen cavalry regiments or parts of regiments, 4 batteries of horse artillery, 22 field batteries, 2 mountain batteries, 2 companies of garrison artillery, 54 battalions of infantry, 30 companies army service corps, 16 companies army medical corps and 5 companies army ordnance corps. There were besides 3 companies of fortress, 4 companies of field, 2 companies of railway, 1 division of telegraph engineers, 1 section of balloon engineers, 1 bridging battalion and 1 engineer field troop. To be accurate, it should be added that in this list were 1 battery of mountain artillery, 2 battalions of infantry and a part of a regiment of cavalry, who were undeniably in South Africa, but they were prisoners of the Boers.

On November 26 a junction was made between the troops from Mooi River and those at Estcourt, and the entire garrison moved to Frere, on the railway, ten miles north of Estcourt. Although General Methuen had made some progress toward Kimberley, it was only trifling, and the real work was still before him. That he underestimated the difficulty was shown by his call for reinforcements, which were promptly forwarded. They comprised two battalions of infantry, a battery of artillery and a squadron of cavalry.

The isolation of Ladysmith, Estcourt and other points by the Boers compelled the beleaguered forces to resort to the only method left them of communicating with their friends outside. This was by means of carrier pigeons, a method employed long before the discovery of the telegraph, and one which, under certain conditions, such as those named, must remain the most effective until some new means is brought into use, such as that of wireless telegraphy, which, it would seem, ought to supply the "long felt want."

A good pigeon will fly more than sixty miles an hour over short distances. In Germany, by means of an ingenious arrangement, the speed is ascertained with great care and accuracy. The bird is taught to announce its arrival at its loft by pecking with its beak against the closet trapdoor of the dovecote. This action sets in motion machinery, which throws open the door, admits the bird and at the same time rings a bell hanging in the attendant's room. It requires the utmost patience to train these intelligent birds, but, as in the South African war, this labor is more than justified.

If the message to be carried is a long one, it is reduced from the original by photographic process, writing covering fully a foot of surface being thus compressed into an area of a square inch. This tiny photograph is then rolled and placed within a quill, which is introduced among the tail feathers and carefully bound there. The dispatch is removed by the officer at the receiving station and with the aid of the powerful oxyhydrogen microscope the writing is magnified to more than its first dimensions. At Ladysmith, probably due to defective appliances, the dispatches were not subjected to this process, only a few words being sent. When these dispatches came under the eyes of a reporter or correspondent, he did all the magnifying necessary.

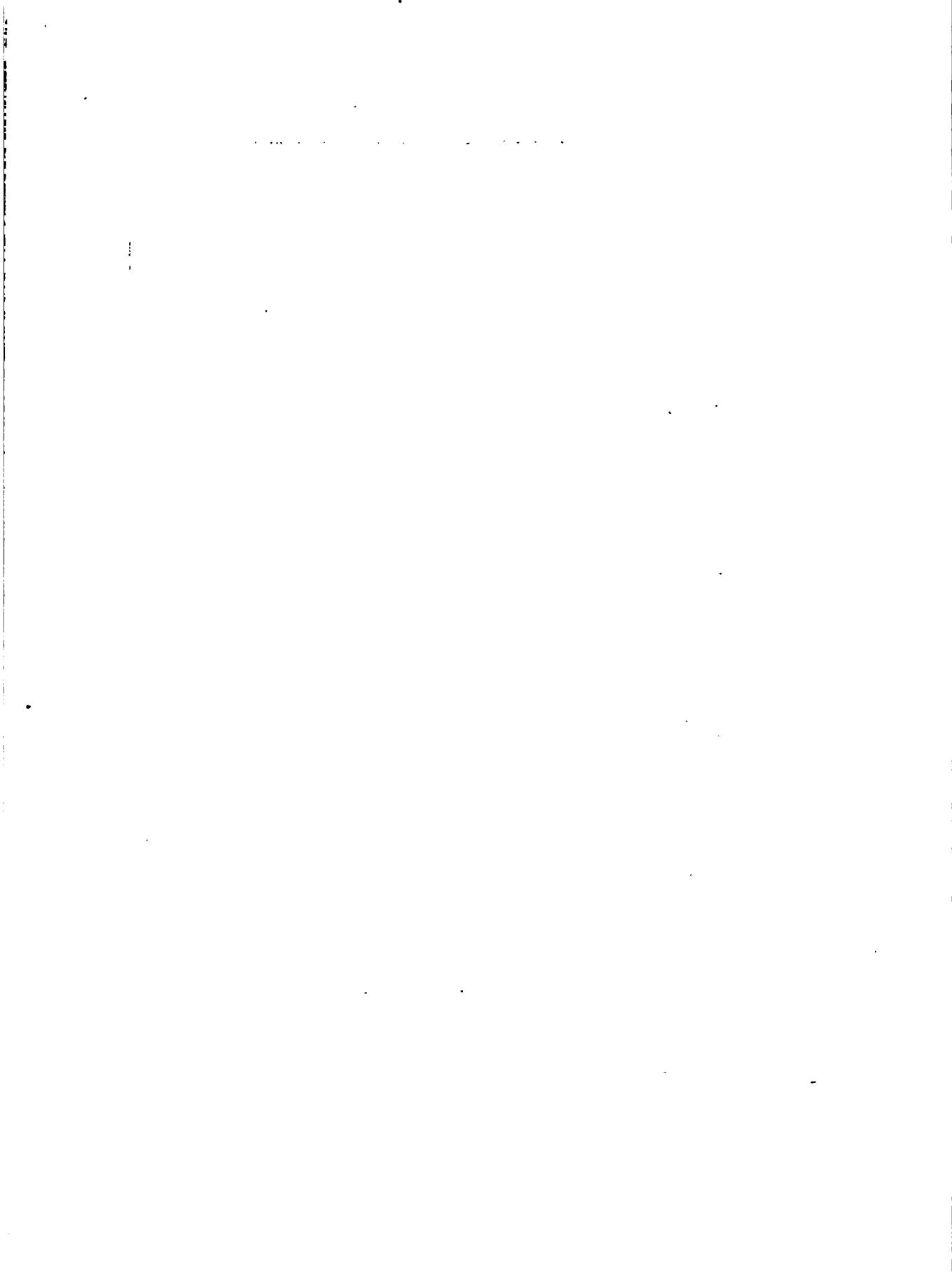
News from the seat of war was delayed so long that a feeling of uneasiness spread at home, the fear being that the government was holding back important dispatches of new disasters to their arms. When at last the official telegrams were given out, they were not so important as suspected, and by no means satisfactory.

As illustrative of some of the grim humor of the war, it was stated by a correspondent that, while efforts were being made at

Estcourt to heliograph to the beleaguered troops, the watchful Boers caught the messages and returned the reply: "Will be with you tomorrow."

On November 15 an armored train ran off the track north of Frere station, near Estcourt, and was shelled by the Boers, who repeated what they had already done almost times without number—outwitted the British. The train was not disturbed on its outward trip, but derailed as it was returning, so that the cars were overturned. The moment this occurred the Boers opened with a hot fire at close range. The only gun aboard the train was a naval seven-pounder, which had time to fire but three shots when it was shattered by the heavier artillery of the enemy.

The Durban Infantry and Dublin Fusiliers, who manned the train, formed in skirmishing order and kept up a rifle fire, but the enemy were much more numerous and rained shot and shell upon them. The British officers displayed admirable coolness, and no man was more conspicuous than Winston Churchill, who was acting as a newspaper correspondent, was taken prisoner and afterward escaped. While a number of men were working desperately to release the engine and the wrecked cars, he seized a rifle and joined the covering party, who were under a heavy fire. Three charges were made upon the Boers, who were driven back, but the British were outnumbered and finally worsted. Their loss was three killed, nine wounded and about fifty prisoners, who were taken to Pretoria, where it was said they were received with bared heads and treated with all courtesy.



## CHAPTER XXVIII

ON CHRISTMAS DAY EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINE.

The most disquieting news was that which indicated a possibility of Dutch disaffection in the Afrikander population of Cape Colony. The Dutch here would naturally hold the ties of blood closer than those of political feeling and many of them naturally sympathized with Oom Paul's followers. For a time this neutralized the work of General Gatacre's division and General French's cavalry command. These commands temporarily were forced to withdraw from the main advance and do police duty in the disaffected districts and guard the railway communications essential to the safety of the division. Sir Alfred Milner issued a proclamation calling out the Cape Colony Volunteers and Rifle Clubs for service. Meanwhile, steps were taken at Aldershot Camp in England to form a sixth division by calling for volunteers from the militia reserves, so as to raise it to its full strength, with a view of reinforcing the army in Africa.

Gen. Buller and his staff started for Frere on the night of December 5. This news, and also that Gen. Methuen had assumed active command of his division, awakened intense interest in England, for it clearly indicated that an important and decisive battle was at hand. Methuen's communications were temporarily cut, by the Boers blowing up of a railway culvert near Graspan, and severing the telegraph wires, but the enemy were dislodged after a day's work.

When all were in this high state of expectancy, England was

shocked December 10th by the receipt of the following message from Gen. Gatacre:

"I deeply regret to inform you that I have met with a serious reverse. In an attack this morning, on Stormberg, I was misled by the guides, and found impracticable ground."

In a later dispatch to the War Office, Gen. Forestier-Walker said: "In reference to my telegram of this morning the casualties so far as known at present are:

"Second Royal Irish Rifles, killed, none; wounded, Lieut-Col. Eager, Major Seaton, Capts. Dell and Kelley, and Lieuts. Stephens and Barnardston.

"Suffolk Regiment, Capt. Weir and three Lieutenants missing; rank and file, none killed, 12 wounded and 290 missing.

"Berkshire Mounted Infantry, one killed.

"Seventy-fourth Battery, a Lieutenant and three men severely wounded, a Major and one man slightly wounded, and one gunner killed.

"Northumberland Fusiliers, Major Stevens, Capts. Fletcher and Morley and three Lieutenants missing; also 306 non-commissioned officers and men missing.

"The remainder of the casualties will be wired as soon as known."

It will be remembered that Gen. Gatacre was in command of the division operating against the Free State and Afrikander insurgents on the line of East London Burghersdorp railway. The following is the report made by Gen. Gatacre to Gen. Sir Frederick Forestier-Walker at Cape Town:

"The idea of the attack on Stormberg seemed to promise certain success, but the distance was underestimated by myself and

ATTACK FROM FARM HOUSE ON MODDER RIVER.

CANADIAN CONTINGENT LEAVING TORONTO.

the local guides. A policeman took us round several miles; consequently we were marching from 9:30 P. M. to 4 A. M., and were landed in an impossible position. I do not consider that the error was intentional.

"The Boers commenced firing from the top of an unscalable hill and wounded a good many of our troops while they were in the open plain. The Second Battalion of the Northumberland Fusiliers tried to turn the enemy out, but failed. The Second Battalion of the Irish Rifles seized a kopje near by and held on, supported by the mounted infantry and Cape police. The guns under Jeffreys could not have been better handled. One gun was overturned in a deep ravine and one sunk in quicksand, and could not be extricated in time to be available.

"Seeing the situation I dispatched a rider to Molteno with the news, and collected and withdrew my force to a ridge about nine miles distant. The Boers' guns were remarkably well served. They carried accurately for 5,000 yards. I am holding Bushman's Hoek and Cypher Gat. I am sending the Second Battalion of Fusiliers to Sterkstroom to recuperate. The wounded are at Queenstown.

"The number of the rank and file reported missing from the Northumberland Fusiliers is 366, not 306, as previously reported."

There was more than one exasperating fact connected with this reverse. It will be seen that the success of the movement virtually depended upon a single policeman! He kept the army tramping back and forth from half-past nine Saturday night until four o'clock the next morning, and the expressed belief of General Gatacre that the policeman honestly blundered was precious poor consolation for the disaster. Moreover, the worse than useless

guide finally piloted the British force into an impossible position, where it was murderously raked on all sides by the Boer rifle and artillery fire, and with not an earthly chance of replying. General Gatacre admitted that both he and the local guides underestimated the distance to be traversed, which, of course, destroyed all the calculations upon which success was based. The British suffered a loss of 672 officers and men and two guns (the Boers claimed three), and it is believed that 175 of the men were lost before the surrender.

There was a good deal of impatience and irritation caused by this blunder. Lord Durham, in a speech which cooler heads condemned, declared that General Gatacre should not have had a command in South Africa. While he was brave to the point of rashness, he seriously overworked his men in the Soudan by forced marches, and when they were hundreds of miles from a possible enemy. There was no denying that General Gatacre was a most exacting commander. The war office gave the number of killed as twenty-three. Sixty-seven of the British wounded were captured by the Boers. General Gatacre's men shot their horses and spiked their guns before abandoning their position on Sunday. A dispatch from Cape Town said: "Further details of General Gatacre's defeat show that he walked blindly into an ambush. This has caused great indignation here, as he has with him the Cape police, who are the best scouts. They know the country well. These men appear to have been in the rear and the infantry in front. Unfortunately the defeat occurred in a disturbed district."

The Boers claimed that their force at Stormberg numbered only 800 men and they were astonished to see the British retreating. Had the latter arrived a half hour sooner, the Boers would have been surprised.

The following dispatch from General Methuen was dated at half-past seven on the evening of December 12:

"As the Boers occupied the trenches strongly this morning, I retired in perfect order here, where I am in security. I gather from prisoners and from Boers speaking to ambulance men that their losses were terrible, some corps being quite wiped out. They have been most kind to my wounded."

The War Office account of the battle, sent by Gen. Sir Frederick Forestier-Walker from Cape Town, was as follows:

"Methuen wires as follows under date of December 12:

"The artillery shelled a very strong position held by the enemy on a long, high kopje from four o'clock till dusk on Sunday. The Highlanders attacked at daybreak on Monday the south end of the kopje. The attack failed. The Guards were ordered to protect the Highlanders' right and rear.

"The cavalry and mounted infantry and a howitzer artillery battery attacked the enemy on the left, while the Guards on the right and center were supported by field artillery and howitzer artillery which shelled the position from daybreak. At 1:15 P. M. I sent the Gordons to support the Highlanders.

"The troops held their own in front of the enemy's entrenchments until dark, the position extending, including the kopje, six miles toward Modder River.

"At one o'clock Tuesday I am holding the position and entrenching myself. I have to face at least 12,000 men. Our losses were great."

General Methuen shelled the Boer position at Magersfontein on Sunday, December 10, and early the next morning began an infantry attack which was a complete failure. Despite severe losses, the British held their advance ground until Tuesday morning, when

General Methuen withdrew to his former position. These actions were thus described by the *Daily News* correspondent:

"After shelling the Boers all day Sunday with our howitzers and naval guns, the whole force, with the exception of those left to guard the camp, moved forward. The attack was opened at 3:20 o'clock Monday morning by the Highland Brigade. In front were the Seaforths, Argyles and the 'Black Watch,' with the Gordons and the Highland Light Infantry in support. The men marched in quarter column formation. The Highlanders had reached to within two hundred yards of the Boer trenches when a deadly fire was opened on the front and the right flank. Here about two hundred men were mown down, and those leading were forced to retire. The supports were then brought up, but they also failed to carry the kopje, and the right flank was thus in serious jeopardy. The guns, however, dashed to the rescue and, protected by their fire, our shattered force was able to retire. The 4.7-inch naval gun opened on the enemy at six A. M. When our right flank was threatened, two squadrons of the Twelfth Lancers were dismounted and skirmished through the bushy country, clearing and holding it until the afternoon. Our terrific artillery fire provoked no response except from the enemy's rifles.

"All efforts to carry the position having failed, the action at mid-day sank into a desultory artillery fire, with the exception of some sharp skirmishing on the right flank.

"At 3:45 the Highlanders formed up to renew the attack on the entrenched kopje, but the Boers, who had made no use of their artillery during the whole day, now opened on them with a heavy shrapnel fire. The brigade was immediately forced to retire again, and the fight between the guns continued until dark.

"The losses on both sides were very severe. Many Boers were killed in the trenches and wire entanglements."

The great losses of the Boers were due to their coming upon open ground on the British front with the purpose of attacking their enemy's flank, but they were checked by the Guards and artillery. The fearful loss of the Highlanders came almost in a single minute at 200 yards. "Startled and overwhelmed," says one correspondent, "the brigade retired quickly, but rallied and retained their position." The Guards, having crossed the open veldt against the trenches on the right, fought an invisible foe for fifteen hours.

But for the disaster to the Highland Brigade, the British loss would have been slight. These men were pushed forward in the darkness in the hope of surprising the enemy, who, being well informed by scouts, were too cautious thus to be caught. From a British point of view the failure was peculiarly trying, since it approached so near success.

The news of General Methuen's defeat, following on the heels of General Gatacre's reverse, caused intense depression in Great Britain. Cape Town was filled with dismal forebodings. There were reports of more Dutch disaffection from the eastern border of the Colony.

The list of casualties at Magersfontein, as given by the War Office, showed that the Highland Brigade alone lost 656 in killed and wounded, beside which there were 8 killed and 106 wounded, making the total casualties 833.

In his telegram after the fight, General Methuen said it was one of the hardest and most trying in the annals of the British army. Such a statement is generally accepted as being decided by the loss incurred in overcoming the danger. On this point, it is

interesting to compare the action of Modder River with some other actions in which the British army has been engaged in the present century.

General Methuen's force was about 6,500 strong. His losses in killed and wounded, as stated, was 833. The figures given below are taken from a table published as to percentage losses in historic battles.

	Strength.	Killed and Wounded.	Per-centa-ge.
Talavera, 1809.....	20,500	6,250	30
Albuera, 1811.....	8,200	3,990	48
Barossa, 1811.....	4,400	1,210	27
Salamanca, 1812.....	26,000	8,886	18
Quatre Bras, 1815.....	12,000	2,504	20
Waterloo, 1815.....	28,991	6,983	20
Firozahah, 1845.....	16,000	2,415	15
Sobraon, 1846.....	15,500	2,068	18
Chillianwallah, 1849.....	15,000	2,888	15
Alma, 1854.....	21,500	2,002	9
Inkerman, 1854.....	7,484	2,857	31
Modder River, 1899.....	6,500	883	18

Lord Methuen's loss in officers was: Killed, 4; wounded, 19; Total, 23. One battalion of British infantry entered the action at Salamanca with 27 officers and 420 rank and file; it had 24 officers and 342 rank and file killed and wounded.

This was the first heard of the use of barbed wire by the Boers, who had evidently read of the American operations in front of Santiago. Undoubtedly the obstruction was very effective and prevented the British, in making their bayonet charges, from reaching the Boer intrenchments, from which came the deadly fire of the riflemen. Of necessity, the failure of the attack caused the English to withdraw to the shelter of the intrenchments at the bridge-head on the Modder River, where they were less liable to an attack than of having their communications cut with the Orange River, and of suffering from a lack of supplies.

There can be no question as to the bravery of the English any more than the skill and ability of the Boer military leaders. The Boers possessed an inestimable advantage in having a perfect knowledge of the country. Also the mobility of their forces seemed to be supplemented by a penetration of the designs of the English generals. This enabled them to concentrate with overwhelming rapidity at all threatened points, and, when repulsed, to move away swiftly and prepare for the next collision.

The charge that General Methuen neglected to reconnoiter before making his attack on Monday morning, was unjust, for he had spent the two previous days in reconnoitering, and that precaution doubtless told the Boers precisely where the attack would be made. Nor is it just to blame the British for fighting upon grounds chosen by their enemies, for such was the logic of the situation. The Boer tactics were new to the invaders, who were compelled to keep to the railway lines in order to maintain their supply of food and ammunition. There was much truth in the remark credited to President Kruger that the British were compelled to fight in the dark. The defeat decided the British Government to send out the Sixth Division, and to organize an eighth.

These two reverses in such close succession, it would seem, were enough to test to the utmost the equanimity of the British nation, and yet within that same fateful week, came the most staggering blow of all, in the form of the following dispatch from Gen. Sir Redvers Buller, commander of the British forces in South Africa, who was moving to the relief of Ladysmith:

“Chieveley Camp, December 15, 6:20 P. M.—I regret to report a serious reverse. I moved in full strength from the camp near Chieveley at four o'clock this morning. There are two fordable

places in the Tugela River, and it was my intention to force a passage through one of them. They are about two miles apart and I intended to force one or the other with one brigade supported by the central brigade. Hart was to attack the left drift. Hildyard had the right of the road. Lyttleton was in the center to support either.

"Early in the day I saw that Hart would not be able to force a passage, and directed him to withdraw. He had, however, attacked with great gallantry. His leading battalion, the Connaught Rangers, I fear, suffered a great deal. Colonel Brooke was severely wounded.

"I then ordered Hildyard to advance, which he did. His leading regiment, the East Surrey, occupied Colenso station and the houses near the bridge. At that moment I heard that the whole artillery I had sent back to that attack, namely, the Fourteenth and Sixty-sixth Field Batteries and six naval twelve-pounder quick-firers, the whole under Colonel Long, were out of action.

"It appears that Long, in his desire to be within effective range, advanced close to the river. It proved to be full of the enemy, who suddenly opened a galling fire at close range, killing all the horses, and the gunners were compelled to stand to their guns. Some wagon teams got shelter for troops in a donga.

"Desperate efforts were made to bring out the field guns, but the fire was too severe. Only two were saved by Captain Schofield and some drivers, whose names I will furnish. Another most gallant attempt with three teams was made by an officer whose name I will obtain. Of eighteen horses thirteen were killed, and as several drivers were wounded I would not allow another attempt.

"As it seemed there would be great loss of life in an attempt to force a passage unsupported by artillery, I directed the troops

to withdraw, which they did in good order. Throughout the day a considerable force of the enemy was pressing my right flank, but was kept back by the mounted men under Lord Dundonald and part of Barton's Brigade. The day was intensely hot and most trying on the troops, whose conduct was excellent.

"We have abandoned ten guns and lost by shell fire one. The losses of Hart's Brigade, are, I fear, heavy, though the proportion of severely wounded is not, I hope, large. The Fourteenth and Sixty-sixth Batteries also sustained severe losses.

"We have retired to the camp at Chieveley."

The news did not reach London until midnight, too late for it to become generally known to the public until the morrow, but not too late for the leading journals to express their consternation. It seemed, indeed, as if the cup of bitterness was filled to overflowing. The *Morning Post* thus expressed itself:

"We venture to say that a disaster to General Buller's column has seemed beyond possibility to the man in the street, for on General Buller's victory he had pinned his faith. The British people must accept the reverse with the calm that has already proved their pluck and bear themselves as true men in adversity." The *Post's* military expert regarded the affair rather as a repulse than a defeat. He said that the attack was not pushed home, but was broken off in the middle.

The *Daily News* said the intelligence was the saddest that had reached England since the Indian Mutiny. General Buller, it declared, was not routed, but was seriously checked. "What, perhaps, is most of all to be feared, is the effect it will have on Cape Colony. Reinforcements urgently needed both in Natal and at Modder River may have to be employed elsewhere."

Another military critic, one of the ablest of authorities, said:

"General Buller proposed to push his way across the river by main force, without attempting to gain any advantages over the enemy by maneuvering. What occurred was the now familiar story of concealed Boers and British troops marching blindly to the very muzzles of their rifles. It would not be fair to criticise without knowing more of the facts, but it is bitter to have to use almost the same form of words three times in one week in commenting on three separate reverses."

The *Daily Graphic* said: "It is difficult at the moment to measure the possible consequences of the reverse. It is not easy to see how General Buller can again advance until he is reinforced, and meanwhile the situation at Ladysmith is most perilous. Greater issues, however, than the safety of General White's garrison are involved. The credit of the empire and the allegiance of British South Africa are at stake. The situation demands calmness, but resolution. The South African field force should be made up to at least 150,000 as soon as possible."

The *Chronicle* said: "Three reverses within a few days make this the gloomiest week since the war began. We wanted victory sorely and we have not got it. General Buller's failure to force a passage of the Tugela River offers another disquieting illustration of that element of surprise in Boer tactics which is the most striking characteristic of the campaign. General Buller appears to have made a direct frontal attack on the central Boer position. We hear nothing of any turning movement, but we shall not cry out against him. Some cheering news must be sent from this side to the commanders in South Africa, even when no cheering news comes from them. Let them be assured that we are losing neither

confidence nor patience, but that we trust them to make good all their errors and be steady in hammering to conquer to the end. 'I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer,' is a famous saying of General Grant's after one of his defeats. That is a happy reminder for General Buller in the very serious task to which he will apply himself with all the more resolution if he knows he is backed by something better than cavil at home."

The *Morning Leader* said: "It will not affect the nerve or cow the resolution of the people, who have not forgotten in a long experience of prosperity how to put up with a reverse of fortune. There is a courage that is not evoked by victory, the courage of endurance in the day of evil things, and there is none higher. We have now to stiffen our lip, looking neither to the right nor to the left, and determine to see the thing through. It is a challenge to our blood, our manhood, and there is only one answer."

The *Telegraph* said: "The moral fibre of the British Empire is now being tested as never since the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny. We passed then through times of terrible stress, and the present trial surely will not find us wanting."

The latest reports showed that two Boer camps having been located, General Hart's brigade was sent from Doorn Kop westward to Bridle Drift, and ordered to cross the Tugela River, advancing along its western bank to the bridge. General Hildyard's brigade was directed to cross the structure and capture the kopjes on the northern bank, while a cavalry brigade with a battery of artillery was dispatched to the extreme right flank to enfilade the bridge.

Fire was opened by the naval guns a few minutes before six in the morning. For some time, there was no reply, and then a severe musketry fire opened from the rear of Fort Wylie. Only

800 yards separated the Seventh and Fourteenth batteries from the Boer rifle pits. A shell fire was also opened from Grobler's Kloof by the Boers, who killed the British artillery horses, wounded all the officers of artillery and compelled the abandonment of ten guns.

The brigade under General Hart pushed forward on the left toward the drift, but encountered a tremendous shell fire and a cross fire from musketry and was compelled to retire. Firing began at seven o'clock on the extreme right, where Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry lost nearly fifty men in killed and wounded. Their retreat was covered by a regiment made up of the King's Royal Rifles, mounted, the Imperial Light Horse and the Natal Carbineers. A good many men were also lost by the South African Light Horse.

A second advance was made by General Hart's brigade, supported by General Lyttleton, but they were again driven back, after which the entire force withdrew to Chieveley. All the British officers and soldiers fought with the greatest heroism, but they had undertaken an impossible task. The *Times* account said:

"The Boer position was an exceedingly strong one. There was a line of kopjes elaborately fortified with entrenchments and emplacements, while our advance was without cover.

"The bombardment began at five A. M. and was heavy till 6:30. At seven o'clock, Generals Hildyard and Hart opened fire. Hart's attack lasted till ten o'clock.

"The men advanced in the most gallant manner across the open ground, facing a terrific fire from the enemy's masked batteries and rifle pits. The Dublin Fusiliers crossed the river, but retreated. The Connaught Rangers and the Dublin Fusiliers lost heavily.

"General Barton made directly for Colenso. He reached the Tugela by a series of brilliant rushes, but was unable to hold the position against the awful fire poured in by the enemy, and eventually retired with heavy loss.

"Lord Dundonald, with the mounted men, gallantly attacked Blangwan Hill, but was repulsed.

"The naval battery made excellent practice."

In order to follow intelligently, events in South Africa, the reader must study the map of that section. In the east, General Buller had advanced from Durban, on the coast, toward Ladysmith, only to the neighborhood of Colenso, when he met the serious reverse just described. Thus Ladysmith, the most northern position held by the British under Gen. Sir George White, in Natal, was surrounded by the Boers. To the northeast are Glencoe and Dundee, which were occupied by the British early in the war, and severe battles occurred at both the towns, and also at Elandslaagte, before the English were driven out and compelled to take refuge in Ladysmith, where they were besieged by the Boers.

Now pass to the west to the railway leading from Cape Town to Kimberley and Mafeking. Over this line General Methuen's column was transported north for the purpose of raising the siege of Kimberley, and of invading the territory of the enemy by entering the Orange Free State. After hard fighting near the Orange and Modder Rivers, Methuen advanced to Magersfontein, hardly ten miles south of Kimberley, where he encountered the decisive defeat already described, and was forced to retreat to Modder River.

Besides opposing the advance of Methuen, the Boer forces in the Orange Free State pressed down into the mountains in the south, thereby compelling the British, under General French and General

Gatacre, to face them in that section. General French, with his cavalry and mounted infantry, turning off at right angles from the line of Methuen's advance upon Kimberley, made his way to Naauwpoort, and thence to Arundel, where he had a busy time fighting the Boer invaders of Cape Colony, a short way beyond that town. General Gatacre's advance was to Molteno, a little distance beyond which, among the Stormberg Mountains, he was entrapped, defeated and compelled to fall back to Molteno. Counting upon victories by Gatacre and French, the plan of campaign was to invade the Orange Free State, but disaster to both columns overthrew the project. It was useless to attempt longer to conceal the fact that the Dutch Afrikanders of Cape Colony had joined the Boers by the thousands, raising them to a strength that baffled the calculations of the British commanders.

So much depended upon the success of General Buller that his reverse was a far-reaching calamity. The relief of Ladysmith, aside from its immediate inspiring effect, would have quenched the flames of insurrection in the British South African colonies. But now the question expanded into the alarming one of British supremacy in South Africa, of the ward to India, and of Great Britain's Eastern empire, for there is no difference in the real meaning of these expressions.

General Buller was held powerless by the loss of his artillery on the banks of the Tugela; General Methuen's division was in the same predicament at the Modder River; General French was kept busy in maintaining his communications with his base and in watching the enemy in front, and General Gatacre's position was complicated by the growing disaffection around him.

In a dispatch dated December 16th, General Buller said:

"Our losses in the battle on December 15, were: officers and men killed, 82; wounded, 667; missing, 348.

"The foregoing includes 7 officers killed, 41 wounded, 14 prisoners, and 3 missing."

The War Office's list of casualties in the Black Watch (Royal Highlanders) Regiment in the battle of Magersfontein, was 41 killed, 163 wounded, and 111 missing. The total number of casualties from the outbreak of hostilities to December 15, not including deaths from disease, was 7,630.

The expectation among military critics was that General Buller's attack near Colenso would be simply a feint, but it was more than that. The chief blame for the disaster was laid upon Colonel Long, whose impetuosity led him to exceed his orders, with the result of a loss of a large portion of the artillery. And yet, with a patience and magnanimity that were wonderful, few criticisms were heard upon that rash officer, or the woeful failure of Buller himself.

It was a blow to England, but, courageous to the last, she almost instantly rallied, and gave the world an impressive exhibition of the majesty of her wrath. There was no thought of stopping short of anything less than the utter stamping out of the rebellion, no matter what the cost or how great the sacrifices demanded. On Sunday, December 17, the War Office issued orders to send to the seat of war, all Great Britain's reserves, a powerful force of yeomanry, others of mounted volunteers, her entire available colonial troops, and a strong division of militia. In other words, almost the entire might of the British Empire was to be hurled into South Africa, under the command of her best military leaders, for Field Marshal Lord Roberts was to go as Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Lord Kitchener,

of Khartoum fame, was to accompany him as second in command, and an army of 180,000 was to be assembled in South Africa.

Field Marshal Lord Roberts, of Kandahar, was born at Cawnpore, India, in September, 1832, entering the Bengal Artillery in the service of the East India Company in 1851. His services were conspicuous throughout the Mutiny, his bravery in the field, in 1858, winning him the Victoria Cross. He was Assistant Quarter-master-General to Lord Napier in the Abyssinian campaign of 1868. He commanded the Luram field force in the Afghan war, and afterward held chief command of the army in Afghanistan. He reoccupied Cabul in 1879, and, in the following year, made the famous march to Kandahar (referred to in another chapter), which gave him his title, and relieved that fortress, besieged by Ayoobkhan, the pretender to the Afghan throne, who was crushingly defeated. Later, Lord Roberts became Commander-in-Chief of the Indian army. He was sent to Natal in 1881, to succeed General Colley, killed at Majuba Hill, but did not reach the post until after peace had been concluded. He returned to India, commanded the Burmese expedition on the death of Sir H. MacPherson, and when ordered to South Africa, was commander of the troops in Ireland.

Gen. Lord Kitchener, Chief of Staff of Lord Roberts, was born in 1850, and entered the British service as Lieutenant of Engineers in 1871. He served as a volunteer in the French army, during the Franco-Prussian war, and in 1874, was on duty under Major Conder in the survey of western Palestine. He became attached to the Anglo-Egyptian army in 1882, then being organized by Sir Evelyn Wood, and steadily rose to the chief command, the climax of his career and fame being attained by his capture of Omdurman, the particulars of which brilliant campaign are familiar to all.

CANADIAN CONTINGENT, MANITOBA VOLUNTEERS, BEING ADDRESSED BY THE MAYOR OF WINNIPEG.

THE RETREAT AT THE TUGELA RIVER.

No people could have met a crisis with more unflinching bravery than did England in the middle of December, 1899. She saw and admitted her mistakes, and addressed herself resolutely to the task of correcting them.

An essential requisite in which she was deficient was artillery. One of the most acute of British critics said the Boers had derived "the greatest advantage during the last few weeks from the absence of position or heavy artillery on our lines of defence in Natal." Sir George White was almost helpless until the arrival of the guns of the *Powerful* at Ladysmith. The lack of a chief of artillery was disastrous, for it would have been his duty to make sure that the army was supplied with siege artillery, position guns and howitzers. This deficiency is a strange one, for there was no responsible staff officer at headquarters.

The strategy of the Boers at the beginning was superior to that of the British. Joubert, after investing Ladysmith, left a sufficient force to maintain the siege, and then sent three columns over Colenso, Weenen and Greytown, all converging on Pietermaritzburg, with perfect communication maintained between the columns and his lines of retreat absolutely secured. A similar movement, conducted with equal strategical skill, was executed by the Orange Boers on the southern border. At the same time the corps that had entered the Zulu country was ordered to cross the lower Tugela and threaten the communications between Pietermaritzburg and Durban. All this was strategy of a high order.

The British, however, divided their forces, leaving the columns of Buller and Methuen too weak to do the work expected of them, and with no possibility of supporting each other. The consequences of these errors may be said to have been inevitable. England did

not close her eyes to the distasteful truth, but set to work, as we have shown, with grim heroism, to retrieve her blunders. So it was that Christmas day, 1899, was one of grave anxiety throughout the Empire, with many darkened hearthstones and saddened hearts, but with the unalterable resolution to carry the cause of the country to triumph not lessened one jot or tittle.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### THE PENDULUM OF BATTLE

Perhaps one of the most natural things in the world is the existence of considerable sympathy for the Boers in their war with Great Britain. This has shown itself at various times in different places, but especially in Europe. The latter is to be expected, for there the jealousy of England's mighty power and transcendent growth among nations is deepseated and widespread. The United States had its wars and wrangles with England, but no men respect each other so thoroughly as those whose mettle and courage have been tested. But all that was ended long ago, and Americans should now be in a position to regard the contest in an unprejudiced light. It is plain that our interests, commercial and financial, lie with England. The future greatness of the United States, never so promising as now, depends upon the unfaltering progress of the world and upon the dominance of liberal principles among the peoples that are settling and developing the waste places of the earth. Can progress be helped by the humiliation of England? After all, what more fearful calamity could befall the cause of humanity than a hurling of her to a depth below that of any rival powers? When conscienceless governments form a league for the oppression and parceling of helpless nations, a reckoning must be made with England. Many a time nations would have combined to check the march of humanity but for the stern interposition of Great Britain's thunderous "Thus far shalt thou go, but no farther!"

Can we join in the gleeful exclamation of the leading German

newspaper that "the decadence of England is now apparent to the whole world!" Can any man name a single point in which the United States would be benefited by the overthrow of the British Empire?

It was when the Holy Alliance was planning to crush the South American republics struggling against the tyranny of Spain, and virtually to parcel the western hemisphere among themselves, that the British ministry "called into existence a new world to redress the balance of the old." It was England that made the sacred "Monroe Doctrine" possible. Had Canning thrown Great Britain's influence on the side of the Holy Alliance, the history of this continent would have had to have been written in another way. No comparison is possible between the mission of the two peoples, Boer and English, in the march of civilization. Any calamity that befell England would injure us. What her friendship is worth was proven in our recent war with Spain. Again she was able to say "Hands off!" to the nations who would have been eager to interfere against us, and none of them dared to brave her wrath. Every continental power shrinks from making war against England when it knows that the United States is her friend. Thus, Americans should not be quick to condemn or wish for the unworthy humiliation of a nation which has given to the world the best it possesses.

It has been noted that a great deal has been said and written about the mistakes of the British forces in South Africa. Many seem to think they are the only offenders, in this respect, but an analysis of the tactics of the Boers, while showing unexpected successes, shows also that they have committed their full share of blunders. The initiatory stage of the struggle failed to show a

single brilliant offensive movement on the part of the Boers, a fact which plainly indicates an element of weakness either tactically or a failure to understand their advantage and to reap its full benefit.

The subdivision of the Boers into numerous small columns has been explained on the ground that the nature of the country and roads made it necessary, but it is likely this primitive plan was adopted without any such supposed necessity. All that saved them from paying the fearful penalty of their rashness was the failure of the British to concentrate before those assailed could unite with the nearest column. All wars teem with impressive lessons of the almost invariable fatal consequences of such a violation of the simplest rules of warfare. What a feast those opportunities would have been to Napoleon Bonaparte or any great commander!

The advance of the Boers beyond the Tugela, while British reinforcements were arriving, was saved only by a retreat from a serious reverse, General Joubert finding himself compelled to withdraw some of his besieging force from in front of Ladysmith to receive the attack of Hildyard. It was fear of imperiling the general strategical situation that caused him to retire when he had one of the finest of all opportunities for decisive offensive operations. Again, had the Boers selected the country north of the Tugela for making their stand, they would have secured a much stronger position for defense than that to the south.

“An American Soldier,” in the *New York Sun*, declares that, as regards tactics, the chief fault of the Boers is their inability to initiate or execute a tactical offensive action, usually the most decisive in war, and also their failure to reap the full rewards of victory. At Estcourt they had the best opportunity for a decisive offensive action, when they had both of the British forces south of

Ladysmith cut off, but they preferred to retire rather than take their chances in a battle which they would have to initiate. The defeat of Methuen at Modder River would have been followed up by an energetic pursuit, had the situations been reversed, but the Boers chose to let the British withdraw. Had Gatacre been opposed by a Sheridan or Stonewall Jackson at Stormberg, his army would have vanished as utterly, so far as future effectiveness was concerned, as did that of the Confederate Hood before the "Rock of Chickamauga."

The Boers have also made mistakes in the selection of tactical positions, as at Elands Laagte, where they occupied two kopjes, or hills, and left two others on their left, over which a flank movement by the British might have defeated them. While their strategic advances, as a rule, are well conceived, their tactical defense of positions good and their reconnaissances excellent, it would seem that if the British preceded an infantry attack by an overwhelming artillery fire, waiting until then before trying to turn their positions, instead of throwing away energy and life by a direct frontal attack, the introductions "I regret to state" would disappear from the official reports of the officers. It was precisely these tactics which succeeded at Elands Laagte and at Colesburg, which were the only victories in the early part of the war with which England had to console herself.

No more convincing instance of the woeful error of disregarding these elemental rules was furnished than that of General Buller at Tugela River. As the full particulars of this battle were learned, it showed that the British disaster was caused by the hopeless assault upon the protected positions of the enemy. Again and again were the brave troops led into a slaughter like that of the

Unionists before Fredricksburg, until the British losses in killed, wounded and captured exceeded eleven hundred, while the reported loss of the Boers in killed and wounded was only thirty-two.

Why it was that General Buller persisted in throwing his doomed troops into the murderous hell-blast is hard to understand, for the hideous futility of such attacks had been demonstrated again and again, and no officer should be better acquainted with the effectiveness of modern arms. Moreover, he had served in the Boer war of 1881, when General Joubert was also in command. The same tactics were repeated then with precisely the same results. There is no more seasoned army officer in the field than General Buller. He did fine service throughout the Ashantee war of 1873-'74, was active in the Kaffir and Zulu wars of 1878-'79, was, as we have said, in the Boer war of 1881, was decorated for his conduct at Tel-el-Kebir in the Egyptian war of 1882, was chief of staff to Wolseley in the Soudan campaign of 1884-'85, and received further decoration for his service. It was unjust, therefore, to bring accusations against the War Office, when it is unquestionably true that the best generals had been sent into South Africa.

The statement, late in December, that the British army in South Africa would be speedily increased fully fifty per cent., was misleading to the general public, for the reinforcements in view at that time were as follows: Volunteers, 7,000; yeomanry, 3,000; drafts to replace the men lost in action and to bring the regiments then at the front up to their full war strength, 12,000; cavalry brigade, 1,200; Canadians and Australians, 2,000; fifth division, 11,000; sixth division, 11,000; seventh division, 11,000, making a total of 58,200. The forces available in South Africa before this call was estimated to be: Infantry, 61,800; cavalrymen, 8,660; artillerymen,

8,940, including 210 guns; engineers, 3,200; service corps, 3,175; medical corps, 2,380; ordnance corps, 590; other special corps, 765; naval brigade, 1,100, with 38 guns; colonial forces, 2,400; local forces, 13,200, the aggregate being 106,210. The misapprehension arose from the fact that, when the notice of the intended reinforcements was posted at the War Office, the fifth division was being landed at Cape Colony, the sixth was on the way, and the seventh was in process of mobilization. It would be more correct, therefore, to refer to the increase as twenty-five per cent.

A gratifying announcement from the War Office was that in a single day offers of service had come from 100,000 of the yeomanry and volunteers, all prepared to equip themselves, while the offers from the British colonies on the part of troops wishing to be sent to the front were so overwhelming that immediate attention could not be given to them. The fountains of the deep were stirred to the bottom, and the exhibition of British patriotism was thrilling and magnificent.

The news which limped to England was to the effect that General Buller had moved his army back five miles on December 17 and had taken up a better position, sending two brigades to Frere to protect his lines of communication.

A dispatch from Modder River, on December 22, stated that the finely constructed trenches of the Boers under Cronje reached for twelve miles, in the form of a crescent, with guns mounted at proper intervals, and a force of probably 20,000 men, on the alert for a British advance in any direction. Methuen's army was inferior in numbers, and firmly held its own at a point midway in the circle formed by the trenches and a bend in the river.

On the day succeeding this dispatch, Field-Marshal Roberts,

appointed to take command of all the British forces in South Africa, left London for Southampton. His immense popularity was shown by the great crowd which gathered to witness his departure, and he was cheered to the echo. He sailed on the *Dunottar Castle* that evening. The grim old hero, ready always to answer the call of his country, carried a sore heart with him, for almost on the eve of setting out for the field, thousands of miles distant, news reached him of the death of his only son, killed in battle. The hearts of the father, mother and daughter were wrapped up in this brilliant youth, who, seeking glory at the cannon's mouth, met the fate that has cut off unnumbered heroes in the flush and prime of life.

Although we have already given the main points in the career of Lord Roberts, who thus became the central figure in the war in the Transvaal, anything concerning him is of interest, and we add some particulars contributed by those who knew him well and were associated with some of his most remarkable achievements. Like the Iron Duke of Wellington, he is an Irishman, familiarly known to his men as "Bobs," and idolized by all. He began his military career as a lieutenant with a mountain battery of native artillerymen at Peshawar, and for eight years built up a reputation as one of the most daring and promising young officers in the service. Ten years later he was attached to the staff of the quartermaster-general's department, where he learned thoroughly the indispensable lesson of the movements of troops and of their equipment. A few years afterward he returned to the artillery and then became quartermaster-general of the Indian army. It will thus be seen that he had the best possible training for the peculiar and exacting duties to which he was called in South Africa.

It was in 1878 that Roberts was placed in command of the Punjab frontier forces, and finally in charge of the entire army in Eastern Afghanistan. By that time he had become the idol of the army, and at their gatherings the principal conversations were regarding the wonderful ability, the lofty courage and the lovable traits of "dear little Bobs," who had endeared himself to every officer and soldier under his command. He had the magnetic faculty of inspiring all with an unbounded faith in his skill, and, as an officer expressed it, "he never failed to show that such confidence was justified." Soldiers fought for him as they would for no other leader. They had come to believe that he never made a mistake, and, therefore, whatever he called upon them to do was the very best and only thing to do. It need not be added that such a commander gets everything out of his troops that is in them.

Every heart ached for the grand old hero, when, standing in the room of his club as several of the members were listening to the war news as it was ticked off the wire, he overheard one of them, unaware of his presence, exclaim that the son of "Bobs" had been killed. Without a word, he walked out of the building and then passed to his home. Who can picture the scene there when the stricken father broke the awful news to his wife and daughter, and all bowed their heads with a grief which none can fully understand who has not shared in something of the same nature? But like the true hero, he did not carry his sorrow to the world. When he appeared before the public he was the same well-poised and self-possessed man as when directing military movements on the far away Indian frontier, or hurrying to the relief of a beleaguered officer and his command, whose salvation depended under heaven upon that powerful arm.

One impressive incident in his career is not generally known. It was on his suggestion that Lord Beaconsfield sent the superb Indian troops to Malta as a warning that, if Great Britain had to fight the Russian Bear single-handed, she would do it with all the forces of her mighty empire. No more convincing object lesson can be conceived, and it produced a tremendous effect.

Lord Roberts is one of the few leaders of whom the remark is true that he never knows when he is beaten. In the Kuran Valley, the officers declared he was defeated beyond all possibility of doubt. He quietly smiled and refused to take that view of it. He was ready for the fray next morning, and lo! a great victory was won.

One peculiarity, seemingly unimportant of itself, doubtless has added to his popularity — he never forgets a face. No matter if the interview lasts only a few minutes and Roberts does not see the man for years and then meets him on the other side of the world, he is sure to recognize him on the instant. This was shown in the case of a young lieutenant, who was introduced to him at a mess dinner. The next time they met was on a narrow mountain road between Peshawar and Jelalabad. The officer saluted, whereupon Roberts extended his hand with the hearty inquiry, as he called the lieutenant by name:

“Well, old fellow, how are you?”

The recognition was so unexpected and delightful that the lieutenant felt willing to lay down his life for his leader, and the feeling of devotion is with all his men to this day. On the march from Cabul to Kandahar, he would never sit down to his mess dinner until he had seen the soldiers properly fed. Many times this thoughtfulness delayed the mess bugle for half an hour. At the Queen’s Jubilee, when Lord Roberts was in the procession to

St. Paul's, he received an ovation from the populace hardly second to that of the beloved Queen herself. But enough has been told to show why this remarkable leader is held in such high esteem and affection by all England, and to explain why, when he was summoned to the supreme command in South Africa, the nation felt that the right man had been sent thither, one who could never forget the lessons of experience and who would guide the movements of the forces with a wisdom and skill that could not fail to bring decisive results.

A dispatch to the Transvaal government stated that the British garrison at Mafeking made a sortie on Christmas day and attacked one of the Boer forts with cannon, Maxims and an armored train. It was said that the fighting was pressed to the walls of the fort and the British loss was heavy, two captains being killed, Lord Edward Cecil and Lord Charles Cavendish wounded, with perhaps a hundred more of Colonel Baden-Powell's force sacrificed in the futile attempt.

Another interesting statement confirms, what has already been said, that much of the success of the Boers has been due to the aid of foreign officers, who had given their best services to their cause. Apparently the authority was the Afrikander Bund, which asserted that 8,000 European officers and men, skilled in military tactics and experts in artillery, were at Pretoria as a reserve force. An Austrian officer was generally credited with the skill displayed by the allies at Modder River, and it was believed that the Tugela defenses near Colenso were planned by an ex-colonel of the French army. It will be remembered that at the latter place the hills had been converted into fortresses of vast strength, with bomb-proof trenches and covered passages connecting the main positions and

with tramway lines with which to shift the guns to different positions.

As pointing to the accuracy of these reports, it may be added that at a meeting of Boer sympathizers, held in Cincinnati December 29, a relative of President Kruger made the statement that there were 4,000 well-drilled Americans in Pretoria, that 2,000 more were on the way and funds were being sent from all parts of the United States. This speaker said further that 50,000 men might be needed, but he was confident that they would be on the ground in time, despite the British blockade.

Immediately following this was news that caused a disquieting effect in some quarters. It was to the effect that the steamer *Bundesrath*, belonging to the German East-African line, had been captured by the British cruiser *Magicienne* and taken to Durban as a prize. This vessel had sailed from Hamburg on November 8 for East Africa and her capture naturally intensified the anti-British feeling of the Hollander and German population on Delagoa Bay, while England was delighted with the evidence that her navy was alert to check the inflow of foreign adventurers to the assistance of the Boers in South Africa.

Reference has been made to the genuine British success at Colesberg, which, coming as it did amid general gloom and depression, sent a glow of delight throughout England. News was received on the first day of the new year that General French, in whose column was a large number of mounted men, had succeeded in flanking the enemy at Colesberg, which is a town on the railway running northeast through Bloemfontein to Pretoria. Two days previous he had come in touch with an entrenched force at Rensburg. Mindful of the previous costly experiences, General French

did not deliver a frontal attack, but left at that point to hold the enemy, half of the First Suffolks and a section of the Royal Horse Artillery, and on the afternoon of the last day of the year started on a circuitous course, his force consisting of cavalry, mounted infantry, infantry carried in wagons and ten guns. Before it was light on the following morning, he occupied the kopje overlooking Colesberg from the west.

This movement was a complete surprise to the Boers, which was natural enough, since its nature was altogether new to them. As it was growing light, the laager was shelled and the right of the enemy's position enfiladed, their guns being silenced while delivering a hot fire from a 15-pounder, captured from General Gatacre at Stormberg. Thus, when General French adopted the tactics of the Boers, he gained an unquestionable advantage.

Still another confirmation of the wisdom of this policy was afforded on the same day, when Colonel Pilcher decisively defeated a command at Sunnyside laager, west of Belmont. His mounted force included 100 Canadians of the Toronto company, 200 Australians and the same number of Cornwall Light Infantry and several field guns. By acting quickly, a surprise was effected and the position captured with forty prisoners. This having been effected, Colonel Pilcher pressed on to Douglas, where he was in communication with Lord Methuen's mounted troops.

The Canadians were delighted when they received the order, "Double into action!" many of them exclaiming exultingly, "At last!" as they dashed into the fight. They pressed forward until within a thousand yards of the enemy, who had run from their laager up a hillside, and, opening a withering fire, they effectually silenced that of the Boers. At the same time, the Queensland

troops with Colonel Fletcher were pushing rapidly in another direction. Their behavior fully justified the high expectations regarding them. All were in fine spirits and skillfully secured cover when the enemy was discovered, every man displaying coolness and self-confidence.

To show how complete the surprise was, the guns were within a fourth of a mile of the laager and had planted two shells before the Boers knew the British were upon them. While the affair of itself was insignificant, it was gratifying proof of the mettle of the Canadians and Australians, and had good effect in checking a threatened rising among the Dutch colonists.

A singular incident occurred at Rendsberg, Cape Colony, on January 2. A train loaded with supplies, but without an engine attached, began moving down an incline toward the Boer lines. The speed momentarily increased, and it soon passed beyond control. In a few minutes it would have been among the Boers, where, of course, the valuable supplies would have been welcome. Orders were hurriedly given to the British gunners to destroy the train, and their aim was so good that cars and their contents were sent flying in all directions and the train reduced to a wreck.

The members of the Masonic order will appreciate the following occurrence, the like of which has never occurred in the history of the order: At a Masonic meeting in Durban, the startling discovery was made that the Master and all the officers of the lodge had been killed in battle. Consequently the charter and regalia could not be kept, since there was no one who could be held responsible by the craft.

The Foreign Office at Berlin sent a note to Great Britain protesting against the seizure of the German steamer *Bundesrat*,

which it will be remembered was arrested by a British cruiser off the east coast of Africa on suspicion of carrying contraband of war. The note, of course, gave the German view of the case, which asserted that the action infringed maritime law, inasmuch as the seizure of contraband is only allowable if the vessel carrying it is on her way to a belligerent country, while the *Bundesrat* was bound to a neutral port. Both nations showed a disposition to investigate fairly and to act in accordance with what facts such investigation should bring to light.

In the meantime, the alertness of the British blockaders resulted in the seizure of American flour at Delagoa Bay and the overhauling and detaining of three American vessels, all carrying mixed cargoes of American goods. Two of these ships had British registers and the other flew the Dutch flag. They sailed from New York for Delagoa Bay, a neutral port, in consequence of which the United States regarded their seizure as an unjustifiable act. The theory of the seizure was that the cargoes were to be shipped overland from Delagoa Bay to the Transvaal for the use of the Boer forces in the field. Inasmuch as none of the ships had an American register, the United States had no concern with the arrest of the vessels, since no question of indignity to the Stars and Stripes was involved.

Secretary Hay sent instructions to Ambassador Choate in London on January 2, to inform the British government that the United States considered the seizure of American flour at Delagoa Bay as illegal, and that, in asking indemnity for such seizure, the American government regarded its position as sustained by the law and the facts.

Ambassador Choate held a long conference on January 4 with

A COLONIAL TROOPER AND THE PRESENT OF THE QUEEN.

### THE QUEEN'S GIFT TO HER TROOPS IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE TIN OF CHOCOLATE.—ACTUAL SIZE.

Her Majesty gave one-half pound of Chocolate to every one of the British soldiers in South Africa. 120,000 tins were sent, more than sufficient to supply one for each soldier in the field at the beginning of the New Year. The design on the cover of the box, which is reproduced here, was carried out by the Queen's own special instructions. In the center of the lid, on a red background accented with blue, is a large medallion portrait of the Queen. On one side, in blue, white and gold, is the royal monogram, "V. R. I.," and on the other the words "South Africa, 1900." Underneath, in the fac simile of the Queen's handwriting, the following words, "I wish you a Happy New Year, Victoria, R. I."

Lord Salisbury, and presented Secretary Hay's note with reference to the seizure by British warships of flour and other commodities shipped by American firms and consigned to merchants at Lorenzo Marquez. The reply of Lord Salisbury was satisfactory, being to the effect that the American flour which was seized on board the neutral Dutch vessel, the *Maria*, had been released and the British government promised not to treat breadstuffs as contraband of war, unless destined for consumption by an enemy's armed force. Indemnity, of course, was to be granted where injury had been done.

At the beginning of the South African war, Charles E. Macrum was the United States consul at Pretoria. In return for similar favors done by Great Britain for us during our war with Spain, the consul was instructed by the State department, on the request of the British government, to apply to the Boer authorities for recognition as the representative of British interests in the Transvaal while hostilities continued. The Transvaal would have been justified in refusing this request had not the United States been a neutral nation; but, in accordance with custom, Mr. Macrum was courteously received and recognized as the British representative *ad interim*.

No matter what may have been said or done by Americans in their private capacity, the United States observed its neutrality with scrupulous exactness, and our government was pleased to recognize in this manner the favor done us, as has been stated, during the Spanish-American war. When, however, British prisoners began arriving at Pretoria, Mr. Macrum applied, under instructions from the State department, which received a request from the British government on the subject, for lists of the British prisoners and a weekly statement showing the condition of the sick and

wounded among them. Our consul, about this time, was informed by the Transvaal government that the care of the British prisoners was purely a military matter, in charge of the Boer commanders in the field, and that his consular jurisdiction did not extend to communication with them.

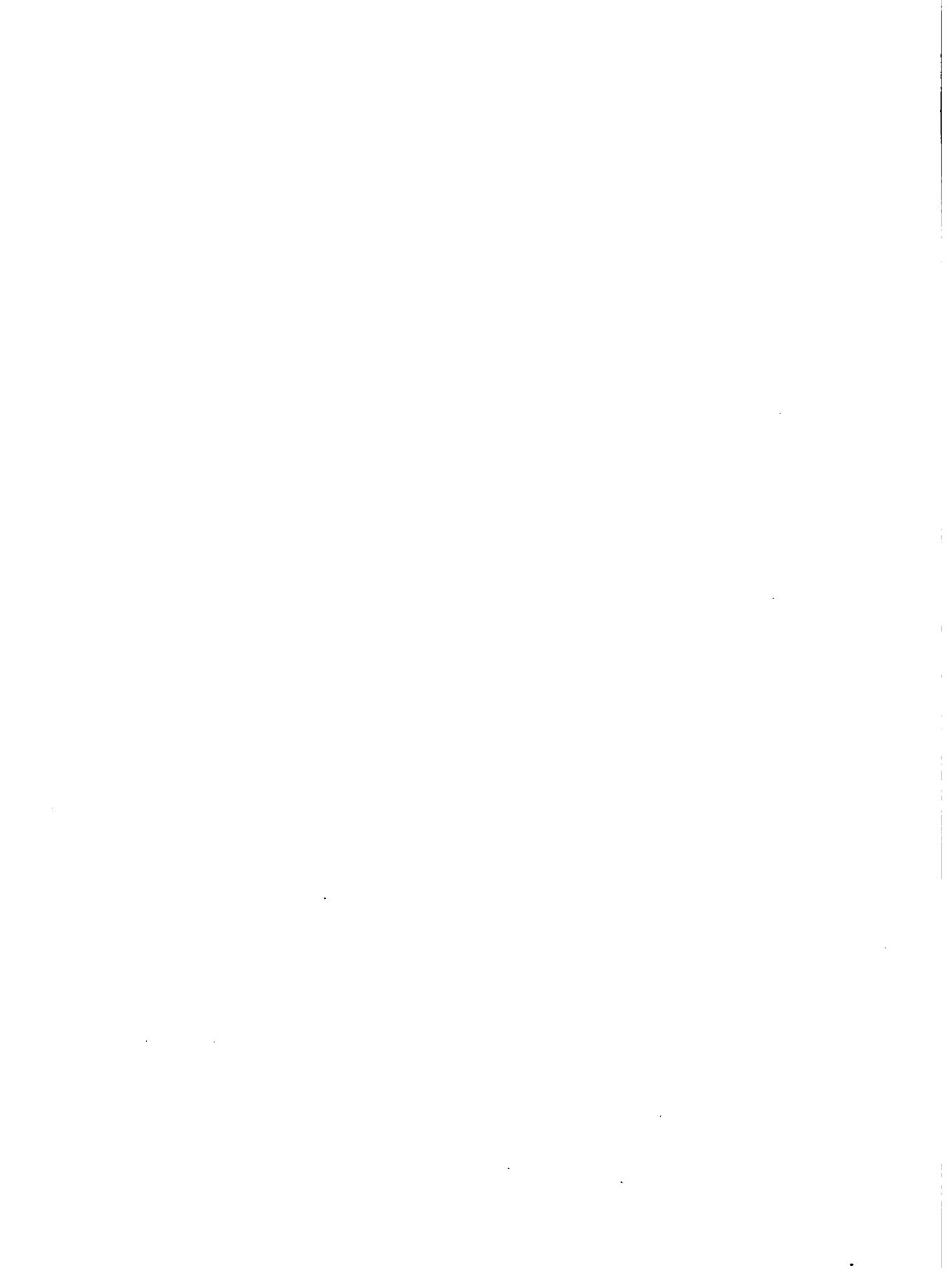
Representations were made by the United States to the Transvaal authorities, which in reality was a protest against their refusal to permit Mr. Macrum to continue his kindly offices. These protests received no notice until Mr. Macrum, having requested and obtained his relief, was on the eve of departure, was officially notified that the lists for which he asked would be furnished, but instead of being given to him would be sent to the British minister of war whenever he chose to apply for them. This looked very much like a shrewd attempt on the part of the South African Republic to secure recognition by the British government as an independent state, but the effort did not succeed.

Mr. Macrum asked permission in behalf of Great Britain to distribute money among the British prisoners with which to purchase tobacco and such things as are considered delicacies, but permission was refused. His request to be relieved was granted, and Mr. Hollis, United States consul at Lorenzo Marquez, Portuguese Africa, was ordered to Pretoria to serve as the American representative until Adelbert S. Hay, the new consul, should arrive, Mr. Hay having sailed from England for South Africa at the beginning of the year.

The United States was inclined at first to resent the refusal of the Boer government to permit Mr. Macrum to carry out the functions usually relating to a representative of the interests of a belligerent, but reflection led to the charitable belief that the

refusal was due to the unfamiliarity of the Boers with the courtesies which obtain between friendly nations. This spirit of tolerance was shown by the United States all through the negotiations.

It looked as if it was misinterpreted when the Transvaal government notified the United States on the 8th of January that it could not permit Mr. Hollis, the American consul at Pretoria, to represent the interests of Great Britain in the South African Republic during the war in the full sense of such representation, though the consul would be allowed in his personal capacity to care for the British prisoners of war in confinement at Pretoria. The reason given for this remarkable course was that the Boer Government did not wish any British representative within its territory. The action was unprecedented and would have brought about the withdrawal of our representative but for the wish to continue the humanitarian work among the prisoners. Such of the latter, however, who were exchanged brought with them the gratifying statement that they were treated with kindness by the Boers, who granted many favors that were wholly unexpected. So, after all, though the course of the Boer Government was discourteous, it might be too much to say that any real suffering to the prisoners resulted therefrom.



## CHAPTER XXX

### STORIES FROM THE BATTLEFIELD.

It is safe to say that there is one point to which a government can never educate the public—that is the necessity or prudence of concealing the truth from it. Nothing is more apparent than that generals in the field are often obliged to prevent news of their movements from being sent out by the newspaper correspondents, for there is always danger that such premature publication will affect the success of the movements themselves. Numberless illustrations will occur almost to everyone. When General Sherman was making his important advance through the southwest toward the close of the civil war, Jefferson Davis, in order to cheer the drooping hopes of his people, announced in a public speech what his generals were preparing to do to bring the plans of the Union leader to naught. The southern papers published his speech, they quickly found their way through the lines, and Sherman gleefully set to work to defeat the project of his enemy, and succeeded.

When General Miles went to Puerto Rico he seemed apparently to change his mind regarding his intended landing place, and selected a point which was in the mind of nobody else. There was no change of mind on *his* part; he was carrying out an intention formed long before, and which was the only means of keeping his plans from the knowledge of the enemy.

But, admitting all this, the question arises as to what possible good is accomplished by suppressing the facts respecting any important action after it has succeeded or failed. The truth is certain to come

out sooner or later, and the indignation against those who have trifled with us is intensified. Such, however, seems to be the policy of all governments. The first announcement generally is of a great victory, with the promise that particulars will be sent later. Then come mystifying accounts of strategic movements, of having attained the point desired, and the return of our army to its former position, of severe losses, owing to the unsurpassable heroism of our attack, and of the far greater and more tremendous losses on the part of the enemy. By and by the real truth begins to glimmer; we have suffered a disastrous defeat; our losses have been much greater than the enemy's, and possibly our whole army is in danger of being destroyed.

Now this thing has been repeated over and over again in South Africa, and will, no doubt, continue to be the policy of the future. There is not a word that can be said in its favor, but everything against it. It is a woeful blunder thus to seek to mislead the public.

The hot soil of South Africa has steamed with the blood of some of the best and bravest men that ever went forth to battle for the honor of their country. Mistakes have been made by their leaders, as must be the case in every war; condemnation of those who made them has not always been just and no slur can be cast upon the courage of officers and men, but we repeat, what has been said in another place, that the British forces were called upon to face wholly new conditions in the Transvaal. The Boers are not only skillful marksmen, but they have able commanders and do not fight in the open. Away back in 1755, General Braddock undertook to battle with red Indians and French who were in ambush, and, heedless of the urging of young George Washington

to adopt the same tactics, he persisted in firing by platoons at a foe hidden behind trees and rocks, with the awful result that everyone knows. True, the Boers are insignificant in number as compared with the armies that Great Britain can put into the field, but they were on their own ground; they had more men at the opening of the war; they were provided with the best arms and equipments; they were familiar with every road of the country, and were fanatically devoted to their cause.

Some other facts should be borne in mind, the most significant of which perhaps is that hundreds of soldiers of fortune, including many others who sympathized with the Boers, have joined their ranks. These recruits are some of the most highly educated officers to be found anywhere, and they helped far more than is generally supposed in winning the early successes for the burghers.

Shrewd old President Kruger and the far-seeing Joubert perceived long ago what was coming, and trimmed their sails to meet the storm. In another place has been shown the admirable and simple system by which the whole military force of the country was always held in hand. Well aware that one of the first objective points of an invading force would be the capital, Pretoria was magnificently fortified long before an enemy could penetrate far enough to gain a glimpse of it.

According to report, the defenses consist of five powerful forts and five lines of mines, and immense entrenchments with redoubts, with the mines so laid as to cover all the approaches to the leading points of defense. The center of the system of forts lies about a fourth of a mile to the westward of the northern end of Pretoria, and has a radius of more than four miles. The center of the city itself is about half a mile due south from the fort on Signal Hill, which is

some 400 feet above the plain on the west side of the railway to Johannesburg and not quite a mile from the fort on the hill to the east of the railway and the Aupies River, whose course is to the north. Pretoria obtains its water supply from the fountains between this fort and the river. The forts on either side of the river are separated by about half a mile, and immediately outside of the city on the southern side is the railway station where the lines from Johannesburg on the south, Delagoa Bay on the east and Pietersburg on the north form a junction.

The westernmost fort is on the hills behind Pretoria, not quite six miles north of the center of the city. The formidable redoubt to the southwest of Pretoria, more than two miles from the center of the city, on the range of hills through which the road to Johannesburg passes, makes up the circle of the larger works that defend the Boer capital. To the rear of this redoubt are the principal magazines, one of which has been excavated out of the solid rock, with a bomb-proof roof, and the other, also bomb proof, built into the kloof, communicates with the redoubt through a covered way. All these forts are connected with the capital, and they not only have pipes laid with water, but electric cables for the search lights.

The number of guns mounted on the forts and redoubts is given at 120 of large caliber and quick-firing of all kinds. Among these are several 15-centimetre guns of French make from the Creusot works, and of long range. Besides, there are Krupps, Maxims and other machine and quick firing guns. Toward the open country the forts are of masonry, heavily faced with earth, but are open to the rear toward Pretoria.

The shipment of a siege train from England to South Africa showed that she expected before the close of the war to invest the

Boer capital. It is interesting to note that this is the first siege train sent out by Great Britain for forty-six years, the last previous occasion being when sixty-five heavy guns and mortars were shipped from Woolwich for the siege of Sebastopol, where they took part with the French siege train in the bombardment of that city. The skillful Todleben, however, developed the Russian defense so rapidly that the number of guns in position in the besieging batteries was raised to 806 before Sebastopol fell.

The train sent from England for South Africa comprised thirty howitzers, fourteen of 8-inch caliber, eight of 5-inch and eight of 4-inch. If they throw lyddite shells the train will prove a formidable one and will probably require 40,000 troops to invest the city, leaving the remainder to guard the communications, occupy certain points and operate against that part of the Boer army not needed for the defense of Pretoria.

Now, it is an ungracious thing to censure the actions of those who are in the field, and who must of necessity know far more of the difficulties encountered than those at home; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the criticisms which we quote are not wholly from laymen and civilians, but from some of the ablest of military leaders. Nothing is gained by glossing over the faults of the campaign, and, on the principle that it is the best to know the truth at all times, we submit a number of such expressions, asking the reader to remember that they are not ours, but those of English authorities, whose dearest prayer is that, through such criticisms, similar blunders may be avoided in the future and the triumph of the British arms secured. As far back as November 12, according to the correspondent of the *Standard*, the Boer circle of nearly twenty-four miles around Ladysmith was held by twenty-two

guns, which were protected by thick parapets. The English line of half that extent was held by the British artillery, consisting of thirty-six guns, which were wholly ineffective against the long-range guns of the enemy. The correspondent says:

"Only five of our guns can reach the enemy's guns of position. These are the naval pieces, whose ranges vary from 10,000 to 12,000 yards. Had the Boers cut our railroad communication before the battle of Lombard's Kop, they would have had us at their mercy, for we should have been without long-range guns. Our field artillery would have been powerless. This is one of the lessons of the campaign. We must rearm our artillery. Quick-firing guns, long ranges and smokeless powder have revolutionized the conditions of warfare. Guns of longer range and longer-time fuses we must have. The present governing factor of safety must be seriously considered and reduced. Our equipment must be lightened. These are essential changes. If they can be made without sacrifice of mobility and shell power, so much the better; but made they must be, unless we are to run terrible risks in the first encounter with an active and enterprising enemy. Except in reconnaissances, our field guns are useless as long as the siege lasts. The fault lies not with officers or men. But they have to face fearful odds. The Boer shrapnel is fused for 5,200 yards, whereas our fuse ceases to be effective at 4,100 yards. At 5,000 yards, the length of the probable rectangle of our guns is 106 yards. At 4,000 yards it is only 46, so that within this critical last thousand yards the accuracy of the guns is so reduced that the length of the probable rectangle is increased 225 per cent. The meaning of this will be clear when I say that for 1,100 yards—or nearly three-quarters of a mile—our artillery are exposed to the fire of a practically invisible enemy, without being able to fire a really effective shot in

self-defense. In other words, our guns would never get within effective range of a French or German field battery. We must have a gun that will shoot with much greater accuracy at 5,000 yards, and a fuse that is effective at 5,000 or 6,000 yards. Whether this involves loss of shell power, or increased weight and consequent loss of mobility, is a question on which experts may differ. This much, however, is certain. Our equipment is unduly heavy. Our guns carry too much weight. The double teams that brought the Twenty-first Battery to Elands Laagte—a distance of fifteen or sixteen miles—had not an ounce left in them.

"The Boer guns are admirably served—doubtless by French and German gunners, assisted by the Staats artillery. Though they have done little damage, the shooting is, on the whole, very accurate. They have the latest telescopic sights, as well as some cross-bearing signaling system which helps to eliminate errors of range. Their errors of direction are practically nil. Our comparative freedom from serious casualties is due to the fact that the enemy's shells are not always properly fused, that long ranges diminish their penetrating power, and that the material of some of their explosives is bad. The projectiles are, for the most part, segment or ring shells, with the regular German percussion fuse, and the shrapnel contains 300 bullets of steel or lead. The errors in fusing may, in many cases, be accounted for by the readiness with which the Boers fire at chance ranges, our practice being never to fire a shot except at ranges that are sure to be effective. Of the inferior quality of some of the shells there is abundant testimony. One morning, while in the camp of the Irish Fusiliers, I saw six shells fall without bursting, while one, after burying itself five feet in the hard ground, blew back nearly a hundred yards."

With reference to the poor quality of the Boers' ammunition for their big guns, another correspondent shut up in Ladysmith has been amusing himself by making a calculation as to the number of shells sent into the town by the Boers since the beginning of the siege to the time of the departure of his dispatches (Saturday, November 25). "The grand total is given as 2,680, and of that number 1,070 went into the town itself, 860 were directed at the naval batteries, and the remaining numbers reached the different camps. Taking the larger type of shells thrown by the Boers and the smaller, and giving an average value of £17.10s. for each shell, it is seen that the monetary cost of the bombardment of Ladysmith to the Boers has been about £50,000. Eight British soldiers have been killed by shells, or one man for every 335 shells. It has thus cost the Boers (according to the statistics quoted) between £6,000 and £7,000 to kill a man in Ladysmith."

The correspondent of the *Telegraph* declared that one of the principal weak points of the Natal campaign was the indecision and lack of mobility when the troops took the field. "Whether at Dundee, Ladysmith, Estcourt or elsewhere to the seaboard and Durban," he writes, "there has been a worrying, too frequent change of plans, by no means all of which were rendered necessary by the enemy's movements and surprises. Work done yesterday or to-day has too often been ordered to be undone in the course of the next few hours. Men have been marched out early and late, in all weathers, to give battle, and, after being kept upon the ground, marched back to camp without being allowed to fire a shot. As with the infantry, so it has been with the artillery. In two weeks one mounted volunteer force has had its camp changed fifteen times! Nay, there are instances where linesmen's tents have

been ordered struck, packed, unpacked, repitched, struck, and so on again, twice, yea, thrice, within twenty-four hours. As to our acquired immobility. It appears that each infantry battalion requires nine wagons, capable of carrying 4,000 pounds apiece. Nor is that all that is set apart for the transport of their stores and equipment. There are, besides these, two Scotch carts, one water cart and two ammunition carts. A tolerably long train these make, and, as they are set down authoritatively as indispensable, our armies don't move until they get them. Except—except when circumstances alter cases. It is for the want of transport, more than all else, that the operations of commanders are said to have been sadly hampered, plans abandoned, and successes in battle minimized or lost."

We have referred in another place to the fierceness of the fight at Modder River, which General Methuen well described as one of the most trying in the annals of the British army. The following account makes clear why the commanding officer applied such description to it:

"The battle of Modder River may be aptly and fitly described as a soldiers' fight. There is little generalship required to place a dozen infantry regiments squarely before a line of entrenchments and tell them to go in and win. The youngest newly-joined officer from Sandhurst could have threaded the regiments at regular intervals before the five miles of Boer entrenchments and have issued the orders which resulted in the victory. It is to the indomitable pluck of the British infantry and artillery, to their individual dogged determination to make Modder River one on the list of the victories of the Kimberley relief force that Lord Methuen owes the success of the day. For sixteen hours the battle raged. For

sixteen hours, on a plain as bare of cover as the dome of St. Paul's, the infantry advanced by the shortest of rushes in the sweltering heat, to shoot—and get shot. For sixteen hours the artillery, innocent of that shelter which tacticians in books lay down as absolutely necessary, pounded away at their invisible foe. The wounded fell out, and were in most cases left, for the stretcher-bearers did not dare to enter the zone of fire. Each wounded man was made a mark for the enemy's riflemen. The wounded men were useful for the Boers — they took sighting shots at them, and got the range perfectly. Our men fought splendidly—that sounds trite enough, but no plain English word can possibly describe the magnificence of their behavior. A company would advance a few tortuous paces, a man here and there would collapse with a gasp, a few shots would be fired, a few more men would double up and again the advance. If the stretcher-bearers could not get to the wounded they were left till it was possible to reach them. In some instances wounded men were left all night on the field. The historian who writes a truthful story of the battle of Modder River will have a strange story to tell, if all one hears is gospel. Stories of guides who reported Modder River to be held by 600 Boers, of a regiment sent to clear them and finding 12,000! Of regiments flanking the enemy's position and within a few hundred yards of his guns having to retire because they were shelled by their own artillery! Modder River was an Alma."

One of the best known men in South Africa is J. B. Robinson, a wealthy mine owner, who fought with the Boers in the Basuto war and knows them as intimately as it is possible for anyone to know them. He says no braver fighting has ever been shown than that displayed by the British soldiers in their charges against

intrenched positions, which could not have been carried by any army in the world. Mr. Robinson adds that the war "has demonstrated that the man with the gun, provided he knows how properly to handle it, is the force that rules the world. No bravery, however great, can overcome him. England has not yet realized, and your generals refuse to understand, what a man armed as the Boer is armed, and trained as he is trained, can do against the bravest men who try to storm his position. Remember, that the Boer is taught from boyhood to hit his living mark, and to hit it in the right spot. When I was a small boy a shotgun was put in my hands, and I was encouraged to fire at birds. When I got a little older I had my double-barreled hunting piece, and, as parties of us went out, the elders would show me just where to fire so as to pierce the game behind the shoulders when running at full speed. This is the training the Boers have had, and one man, taught in this way, can successfully resist a hundred men who try to rout him out from an intrenched position. On the other hand, twenty men who are poor shots can be driven from their position by twenty-five determined opponents."

Mr. Robinson relates a thrilling experience of his own in the Basuto war to prove what can be done by the Boers. While Potgieter was out with a company of thirty scouts, he made the alarming discovery that he was between two large Kaffir war parties. A desperate attempt was made by four of the Boers, who were well mounted, to escape by a dash, but only one succeeded in getting through and he was unable to reach the laager with the news of the dire straits of the larger party. The party rode to a small ridge at headlong speed and began throwing up what stones they could lay hold of to form a rampart. Mr. Robinson continues:

"They had only raised the rampart two feet high when the Kaffirs were on them. Potgieter quickly issued his orders. The men had dismounted, and two held the horses behind the ridge. 'No one is to fire until after me,' the leader said. 'I will bring down the chiefs, so many of you are to fire at the horses, and the remainder are to shoot down the dismounted men when they get on their feet.' All the Kaffirs were mounted, and they rode up to the little band in apparently irresistible numbers, the chiefs, gay with their war plumes and heavy with Kaffir beer, at their head. The first body that had been sighted consisted of between four and five hundred men, and a second strong force was afterward discovered in the rear. Potgieter let them approach to within seventy-five yards and then fired. Down fell chief after chief. The rifles of his men rang out, and all the horses of the leading men stumbled, shot through the breasts. The fire was so resistless that the charging party edged off to the right and the left, and made a circle in retreat. Again the Kaffirs came on. They were armed with rifles, and a number of them kept up a rifle fire at the sides while the mounted forces again charged forward. But the result was only the same as before. They would draw off, their chiefs exhorting them by the valor of all their forefathers, by the great deeds of Moshesh, not to allow so puny a band to defy them. As the hours passed there came a rampart of dead Kaffirs and Kaffir horses all around the Boers. Once the charging party got so close that when the horses were shot two of them plunged right over the kraal, into the Boer horses behind, before they fell dead, nearly causing a stampede among the horses of the scouting party.

"The fight started at eight o'clock in the morning. By two o'clock five or six of the Boers were so exhausted they declared they could

THE RELIEF OF LADYSMITH. THE SCENE AT THE MANSION HOUSE, MARCH 1ST

THE RELIEF OF KIMBERLEY. GENERAL FRENCH ENTERING AT THE HEAD  
OF THE RELIEVING SQUADRON OF CAVALRY.

do no more. Their mouths were parched, their tongues were swollen with intolerable thirst. Their arms ached so that they could hardly move them, and they were stiff in every limb. They said: 'We cannot fight any longer,' but their leader laughed at them. 'Put two pebbles in your mouths,' he said. 'That will lessen your thirst. If you cannot fire any more, let me have your guns. You keep them loaded, and I will do the shooting. We must fight or die; there is no escape.' And so he heartened them. The fighting kept on till six in the evening, and then the Kaffirs drew off. The Boers quickly took advantage of the opportunity. They knew that their one hope was to get clear away, for ammunition was running short, and if the Kaffirs surrounded them during the night they would be done. Half their horses had been shot by the Kaffirs, but the hungry, aching and thirsty men got two each on the remaining horses and made a detour home.

"They should have been back in the laager by six that night, and when they did not come, though all the other scouting parties returned, we grew anxious. We organized relief parties, and set out hunting for them. They were too far away, and the wind was blowing the wrong way, so that we could not hear the sounds of firing in the camp. We went out, firing at intervals. At last they heard our shots, and signalled back. When we came up to them they could hardly move. We poured brandy down their throats, and cheered them, and got them in. But we had no idea of the wonderful battle they had fought. They said little about it, for they were too exhausted to speak. It was only next day, when we came up to the field of battle, and saw the great number of the dead and dying, that we knew what deeds they had done."

It is against such men as described by Mr. Robinson that the

British infantry have been hurled with no possibility of success. "Even our artillery fire," says he, "inflicts very little loss of life, I believe. The Boer trenches are made after a manner learned from the Basutos, like a great S. It is impossible to have a raking fire down them, and unless shells fall directly in the trenches, which is very seldom, they do comparatively little damage. I am also convinced that all the estimates of the Boer strength circulated in this country are great exaggerations. At the outside, including the mercenaries and the recruits, the Boers have not, I believe, more than thirty thousand men in the field at the present moment. This is exclusive of recruits from northern Cape Colony or Natal. It is their mobility that gives them the enormous advantage over us. Take one illustration. They had their forces on the Cape border ready to resist us, expecting, as all who knew the country made sure, that the three British army corps, under Methuen, Gatacre and French, would move simultaneously into the Free State. Had they done so the Boer armies would have been scattered and our troops could have marched on, avoiding their strong hill positions and gone right on to Pretoria. He would have captured their cattle and have fought in the enemy's country at the enemy's expense. An invasion of the Cape Colony would have been impossible. Instead of that, the Boers were allowed to seize the bridges across the Orange River, to sweep over the country far into the Colony, and Methuen was sent forward alone, bearing all the brunt of the attack. The Boers at once took their cue, and saw that we were giving them the chance of their fighting our divisions in detail. They threw all their strength which, brave soldier and good fighter as he was, he could not overcome. Remember, we are fighting the Boer on his own ground, and, semi-civilized though you may think

him, he had such knowledge of the veldt, and such power of moving about on it, that no other men can equal.

"To put the matter briefly, if the present tactics are to be continued, the mere sending out of large numbers of ill-trained men will not meet the case, unless we are prepared to suffer an enormous loss of life. The whole system of fighting must be altered. Tens of thousands of infantry such as those who are now going are of little service. Their magnificent courage is thrown away. They are not what we call crack shots, they lack mobility, all fatal faults, when you have to face sharpshooters intrenched in a strong position. What is wanted is a strong force of irregular horse, men raised at the Cape from the same classes as the Boers who are now fighting us. Some one from the Cape told me the other day that this could not be done, because there is a scarcity of saddles at the Cape. Saddles! The men I mean would bring their own saddles, and their own horses, too. They are trained shots, and know every inch of the country. I do not mean the loafers about Cape Town streets, but the hardy farmers. If Methuen had a force of 5,000 such men helping him, nothing would stop him on the road to Bloemfontein. While his army was attacking the Boer front these irregulars would sweep round, by a ford further down the river, to the Boer rear. Moving with great rapidity, they would seize the Boer horses, drive off their cattle and render them helpless.

"The British soldiers are too dependent on their commissariat, too slow. A Boer commando, the men armed with their rifles alone, will take with it sufficient food for four or five days, each man carrying his own provisions in saddlebags. In that four or five days the commando can, with ease, cover 150 miles, a distance that infantry would require from twelve to fifteen days to cover.

This Boer war will lead to the revolutionizing of European military methods, and the hope of its speedy end is the liberal use of properly selected irregular horse. There is no question but that, as I said before, the rifle and straight shooting with an eye to judge distances, in conjunction with a powerful artillery force, will supersede all other weapons of warfare. The man, however, who carries the rifle must be a smart rider and able to handle his horse in the same way as South Africans are taught to handle theirs."

The general reader gains the best ideas of the realities of war from those who are participants. The official reports are not only misleading, but colorless. The accounts of the special correspondents are often picturesque and perhaps truthful, but no one can see the fighting as it really is so well as he who takes part in it, and it is these letters, written to families and friends at home, that are the most interesting. We are sure that our friends will be glad to read a number of such, for every one will repay perusal.

Second Lieut. C. E. Kinahan, of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, writing to his father, Mr. G. P. Kinahan, Bagshot, from Staatsmodel Schule, Pretoria, says:

"We were all taken prisoners, together with the Gloucester Regiment and a battery of mountain artillery, which accounts for us being in Pretoria so soon. We went out at night to occupy a hill right in the midst of the enemy in order to protect White's flank for an intended attack next day. Everybody knew that to be able to relieve us he would have to be entirely successful, and from what we hear he was not. As we were going up the hill in the dark a small party of Boers dashed through our ammunition mules, causing them to stampede. By this move we lost all our mules (200), and with them all our ammunition and artillery. We

started fighting at five A. M., and in a few hours' time the Boers were firing on us from all four sides, until by two o'clock they were firing at about 200 yards' range and doing fearful execution. You don't know what it means shooting at a Boer; he is behind a rock and all you can ever see is his rifle sticking out. For the last hour of the fight I had a rifle and ammunition which I took from a dead man, and blazed away for all I was worth. Then we fixed bayonets and prepared for a rush when the cease fire sounded. We were all then taken prisoners, except two officers killed and eight wounded, and marched to the Boer laager, and sent off that night to a station twenty miles distant in wagons. While we were in their laager they treated us extremely well and gave us food and tobacco. All you read about the Boers in England is absolutely untrue; they are most kind to the wounded and prisoners, looking after them as well as their own wounded, and anything they've got they will give you if you ask them, even if they deprive themselves. We came up to Pretoria in first-class sleeping carriages, and the way they treated us was most considerate, feeding us and giving us coffee every time we stopped. The day we arrived we took up quarters on the race course, but we have been moved into a fine brick building, with baths, electric light, etc. They provide us with everything, from clothes down to tooth brushes. They also feed us, and we are constantly getting presents of vegetables and cigars from private people. In fact, we can have everything we like except our liberty; for some reason or other, they won't at present give us parole, and we are surrounded by sentries. There are close upon fifty officers in this building, and they have got any number of wounded ones in different places. They say they won't exchange the officers at any price."

A letter, dated November 29, received from Alexander and Robert Carlyle, Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders, addressed to their father in Dumfries, regarding the battle of Modder River, says:

"Bullets and shells were falling among us and going over our heads in hundreds. It began at seven A. M., and it was between eight and nine P. M. before it finished, and it never slackened one moment. The Boers had a splendid position and trenches, and if our troops had been in them an enemy would never have got within a thousand yards. The Boers lost heavily and we are burying their horses, lying in the river and on its banks, in hundreds. We have been over two days without food and on foot all the time. We are lying in a farm and have nothing for it but to steal whatever we can lay hands upon. I caught a hen and Bob got potatoes in a field, and these are being cooked in an old can. The rest are killing pigs, goats or anything."

The writers have been missing since the Magersfontein battle.

A letter has been received from Gunner Alfred Beadnall of Scarborough of the Sixty-second B. R. F. A., dated from Orange River, November 12, in which he says:

"How I often wish I never had enlisted, what with the hardships, such as half starved, and we have not had over five hours' sleep at a time. Perhaps we have just got our topcoats on the ground and tried to catch a few minutes' wink when those d— Boers have come dodging about, when we have had to stand to our guns as far as eight and ten hours at a stretch, without anything to eat. I am just about sick of this life. I often wish I was back at Mr. —.

"You could hardly realize what an awful scene a battlefield is, some poor fellow asking you for a drink as you pass him. Perhaps

some will never ask for water any more. The most painful thing to see was a Dutch spy who was caught, and he was tried and sentenced to be shot, and the poor fellow was marched to dig his own grave, and when he had finished it he was stood over it and then twelve soldiers marched out and had to pick up a rifle out of a group of twelve. There were six of these loaded and six unloaded, so none of them knew who shot him and the poor chap never said a word; it was all over in a few minutes.

"We were just about to eat our humble tea (which is a hard biscuit and a drop of water) when the alarm sounded and we went into action, and we had not been out over twenty minutes when there was one officer out of the Northumberland Fusiliers shot through the heart and another got shot and died in the saddle and three more wounded. That was on Friday night, and we buried them on Saturday night with military honors. Things are so dear out here. We pay 4½d. a pint for beer, and we can only get two pints a day; so you can rest contented that we don't get drunk. We had a very bad time of it at sea. We lost nearly forty horses and we have had ten die out here; so we did not do so well. I shall be thankful when we get into barracks, if ever we do so, as we shall have a bed to sleep on. It will be quite a change from sleeping on the hard, bare ground and only your topcoat to cover you from the wind and rain. I suppose you have been scanning the papers every night to see if you could see any news about me, but we are in a country where all communication is cut off and they can only take letters every fortnight, and it takes it over a month to come, so it will be close on Christmas when you get this, and I shall have to wish you all 'A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year' when it comes. I think myself this will be the last

letter that I ever shall be able to write, because we are in a terrible position, completely surrounded by Boers, and we are going to try to get out, so let us hope for the best.

"I am writing this on my water bottle, so you must excuse the writing. We start fighting again in the morning."

The following letter is from a private in the Royal Field Artillery, at present on duty in South Africa:

"I think it is my duty to inform you of the way our British soldiers are treated at present in South Africa. We rise at four A. M.—sometimes earlier—and are out in the burning sun all the day. At night we are bullied about like dogs, and fed by chance on dry bread and coffee. I am a driver in the Fourteenth Battery R. F. A., and I am bound to tell you that I never saw such treatment of our men—cleaning harness, grooming horses, driving drill, riding drill, gun drill, besides seven hours' stables. We are like slaves more than British soldiers. All our boys of the battery hope that you will publish this letter, as we are fighting for our Queen and country."

Lance-Corporal Enright, Third Battalion Grenadier Guards, writes under date, in camp, Jacobsdal, November 26:

"I write to let you know I am alive and kicking, though, as you will have seen by the papers, we have been twice in action. The first time, at Belmont, on the 23d, was awful. We left camp at about three A. M. and marched about four miles in pitch darkness. Just as daylight was breaking we opened out for the attack, and just then the enemy caught sight of us and opened fire. We had then an open space of about 2,000 yards to cross, and as the Boers were behind tremendous rocks on a succession of hills about 1,000 feet high, while we had no cover at all, it was not pleasant. Well,

we got across this all right, and went for their first position, which was among some hills shaped like a horseshoe. Here we lost our adjutant and our colonel and two officers wounded, while the men were falling right and left. As soon as we got to the top the Boers cleared out, as they hate cold steel. We then saw they had occupied a much stronger position on another very precipitous hill in the rear. We then formed line again and went for them. It was a tremendous struggle to get up this place, as the side was like a wall, partly made of loose bowlders, and the bullets were falling round us like hail. You can imagine the strength of the position when Lord Methuen said he gave us three weeks to take it in. But the Guards rushed it in three hours of the hardest fighting ever seen. One of the war correspondents with us says he was at Dargai, and that was nothing to it. I had the luck to bring in two prisoners, and we captured all the enemy's ammunition and provisions. The fight yesterday was pretty good, but I did not see much of it, as we were in the reserves, and only a few cannon shot fell near us, doing us no damage."

Private J. H. Owen of the Third Grenadier Guards, serving under General Lord Methuen in South Africa, under date of November 26, says:

"I cannot describe to you my feelings when I first went into action, but I am glad to be able to tell you that I have come through unharmed. We started at two o'clock in the morning in the direction of the position held by the enemy in great strength. We advanced to within some 800 yards, when the Boers opened fire. We were ordered to lay down, which we did for about half an hour, the bullets all the while whistling over our heads. Then Major Kinlock gave the order to advance, and addressed the men thus: 'Now, my boys, all together as hard as you can go'; and

with a silent prayer to Heaven, and a thought of all at home, I dashed across the bullet-swept zone. The Boers, fighting from the right, drove us into another party of the enemy firing from the left; then we 'faced about' and received yet another terrific fire from the front. Thus, you see, we were exposed to a terrible onslaught from three sides, and up to this we had not fired a shot. The Boers have a horror of the bayonet, and, courageous as they have proved themselves to be, they cannot stand cold steel. So strongly fortified was the position of the enemy that they boasted of their power to hold it indefinitely. Yesterday we had another big battle (Graspan) and I am thankful to say I have come through safely again; but steel, 'best cold Sheffield,' again asserted its superior powers over the enemy. Just before starting yesterday (battle of Graspan) we had a biscuit divided between four of us and a drink of coffee, and did not get another mouthful for twenty-six hours. I long for a good square meal. We shall be marching again to-morrow (Monday) towards Kimberley, and we are expecting sharp work before we reach there."

An exciting bit of outpost work is described in a letter from Private Albert James, serving with the mounted infantry:

"Another of our fellows who was out scouting came across a nigger minding some sheep, or pretending to be, anyway, and he had an Express rifle with him. So our chap loads his own rifle in the saddle, gallops up to him, dismounts and covers him with it, makes him put his rifle down and then go back a step or two. Our chap then goes and picks it up, questions him on different things, and he tells him there are no Boers knocking about. He is going to take him prisoner, when all of a sudden he hears voices shouting 'Dick,' and 'Joe.' So he leaves his prisoner and

goes up toward the rocks until he is in speaking distance of them. Then he sees he has been led into a trap, and he mounts again and rides for his life. You can tell what shots they are. There were, I'll swear, at least fifty shots fired after him at random, and not one hit the mark.

"That was the commencement of the firing and we had to gallop and go as hard as ever our horses could take us over ground you would scarcely believe a horse could walk on. It was full of holes—some like rabbit holes, and lumps of rocks and stones and one thing and another for at least ten or twelve miles. The colonel who is in charge of us wouldn't let us dismount and fire, as he said we should all be cut up, and they were too strong for us, as we were only a small party—and he has got a fine breast of medals—but, d—— them, let's get it over. A month to-day and it will be a bit nearer I hope. We chaps were swearing like one o'clock when he wouldn't halt us and let us have a packet at 'em, but I expect we shall have another pop at 'em yet."

Private J. Maddison, Second Northampton Regiment, who holds a medal and three bars for Dargai, Somani and Tirah Valley, writes:

"We have had two battles—one at Belmont and one at Enslin. We are having it pretty stiff, I can tell you. The Boers have some good rifles of German make, but their shots all seem to go over our heads. At the battle of Belmont we captured some biscuits from the enemy; they were shared among the troops. In the last fight we captured a lot of horses, and I had one myself. I was about done up, same as the remainder, fighting about four hours on a drop of hot coffee. When we got in camp we had to wait for the train to come with our rations. Water is very short out here. The guards are in the rear as usual."

Sergeant Stockwin, of the Northamptonshire Regiment, writing to his brother from the battlefield of Enslin, says:

"If this is warfare we have had about enough. Three battles in one week, and we have not shaved for a fortnight or washed for a week through the scarcity of water. It's not the fighting we don't like; it's the hideous sights of mangled corpses afterward."

Private J. Argent, of the Third Grenadiers, in a letter to his parents at Swansea, says:

"At the battle of Belmont we fought hand to hand. I was just behind David St. John when he was shot. He stuck his bayonet right through a Boer and could not get it out again. He tried to throw the man over his shoulder to get him off, and then another Boer came up and shot him through the head. Then another of our men put his bayonet through that Boer's heart."

Here is a grim picture from a private's letter:

"One of our fellows was talking to a parson who went over the battlefield of Elands Laagte a day after the fight. He says there were terrible sights, the most awful of which was a Boer sitting down quite naturally, with a bayonet clean through him and about six inches of the muzzle of the rifle as well, while the Tommy who had given the mighty thrust was lying down as if asleep, with a small bullet hole in his forehead. The Boer was grasping the barrel of the rifle with both hands, and his eyes were staring out straight in front of him with a horrified look in them, as if he had seen a ghost."

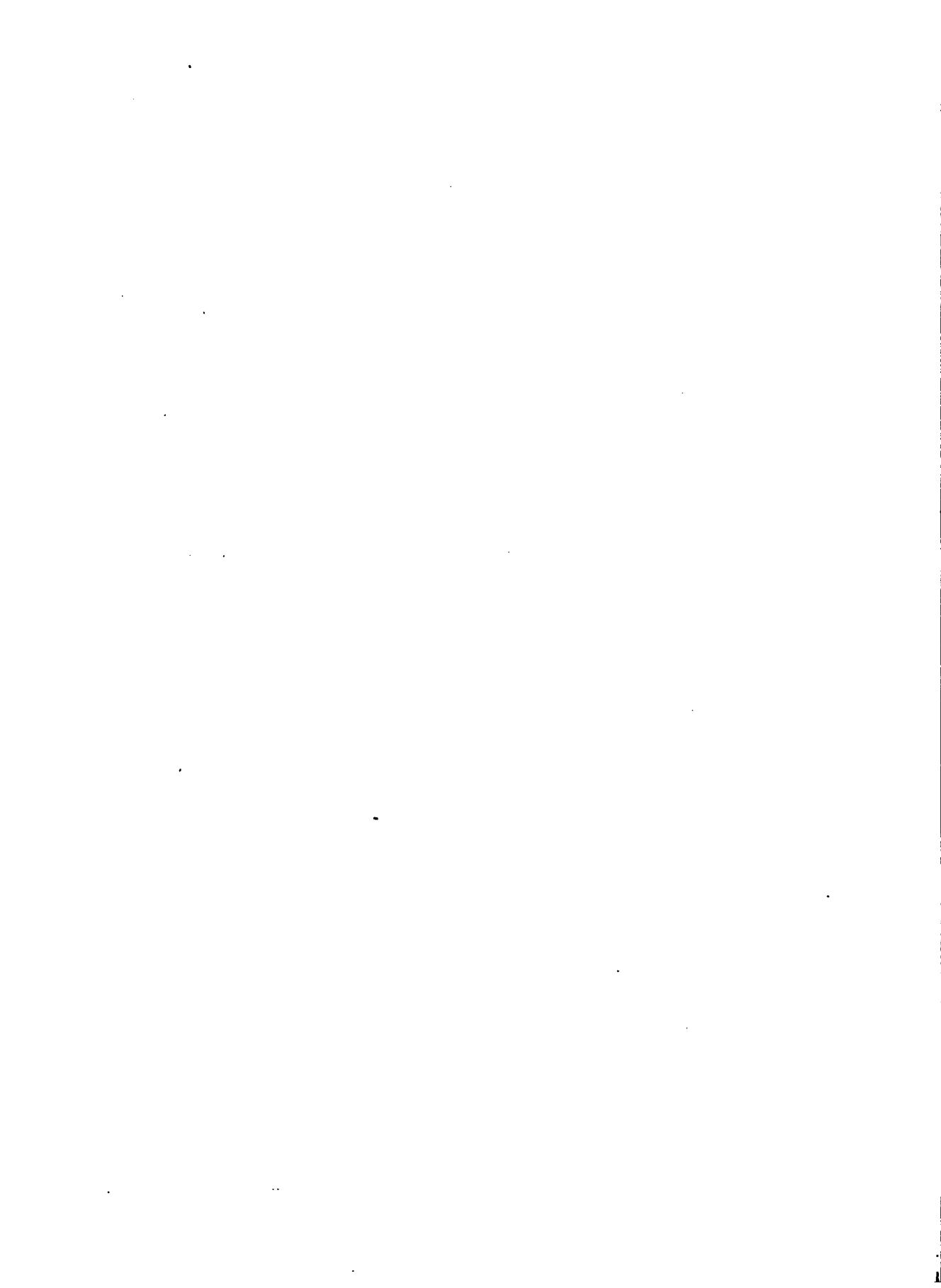
One of the ladies who went out to see the fighting at Lady-smith has described that experience in a lively letter. A shell landed not many hundred yards away, and she ran to get a piece of it:

"Off I scampered. Spoke to the first soldier I came to. He

said: 'Come with me; I can warn you in time to clear before another comes.' So I went gayly on, talking away. Another soldier said: 'Here comes another,' and before we had time to think the awful booming and shrieking came—and I wish you could have seen your younger sister. I just shut my eyes tight and clung to a barbed-wire fence, and whispered: 'Good God!' It exploded about twenty feet away; perhaps not so much; the earth shook under me, and my legs felt shot all over."

A member of the Army Service Corps, writing from Orange River some weeks ago, said:

"We have 300 Zulus and Kaffirs here working as laborers for the Army Service Corps at 4s. per day. They are stacking hay, biscuits and peat. So when they brought the Boer prisoners to the railway station these Zulus and Kaffirs made a charge for the trucks, and if it were not for the sentries with bayonets facing them they would have torn the Boers to pieces. They were in a — of a rage, shouting 'La Boer!'"



## CHAPTER XXXI

### TOLD BETWEEN BATTLES

As the war in the Transvaal progressed, the name of Delagoa Bay was more frequently mentioned, and there could be no question that this main door to that section of South Africa was to prove an important factor in the stirring events that have attracted the attention of the civilized world. We have referred to it in the preceding chapters, and doubtless it will be spoken of many more times before the end of the bitter struggle. It was in Delagoa Bay that the British warships seized three vessels, whose cargoes were American flour, while a Norwegian bark, laden with supplies for the Transvaal railway, was taken into custody by another British cruiser.

Africa has no finer natural harbor than Delagoa Bay and none on the eastern coast that can compare with it. It is twenty-five miles wide at its broadest part and seventy miles long, with a depth sufficient for hundreds of the largest vessels to ride safely at anchor. With an entrance fifty feet deep, and fully a dozen miles in width, it is accessible at all seasons and in every kind of weather. At almost any time steamships from America, England, Germany, and Cape Colony may be found there.

The Transvaal has no seaport—that is to say, nominally it has none—but the town of Lorenzo Marquez, at the head of the bay, serves every such purpose. Three hundred and forty-eight miles almost due west carries one through Portuguese Africa to Pretoria. Fifty-four miles of this distance is through Portuguese territory.

A little way beyond the border, a branch line runs to Barberton, the center of the De Kaap gold fields, among the most valuable in the world.

England would have been blind had she not perceived long since the immense importance of Delagoa Bay. Just twenty-one years ago the British minister to Portugal persuaded the Portuguese minister of foreign affairs to sign a treaty which gave permission to Great Britain to embark and disembark troops at Lorenzo Marquez, including free passage for them and their munitions of war across Portuguese territory. This was a most valuable acquisition, or rather it would have proved such had the treaty been ratified by the Portuguese Legislature, but that body refused its consent. Then, in 1883, Great Britain set up a claim to the possession of the bay on the basis of rights said to have been granted in 1720. Portugal vigorously resisted this claim and the dispute was referred to Marshal MacMahon, President of the French Republic, who decided in favor of Portugal. The decision was in fact in favor of the Transvaal, since the whole business of the port, with a fractional exception, is hers, and the very policy desired by President Kruger was carried out in spirit and letter.

The most formidable obstacle to England's acquisitions in that quarter has been and still is Germany, whose material interests in the Transvaal are larger than is generally supposed. A great deal of German capital is invested in the mines and various kinds of business. At this time, there are considerable German colonies in twenty of the Transvaal cities, including Johannesburg, Pretoria, Barberton, Utrecht, Standerton and Lydenburg. Next to the Dutch, they are the most favored of all Outlanders.

The statement has been made on excellent authority that in

every month succeeding the collapse of the Jameson raid, war supplies had arrived in Delagoa Bay to be shipped by rail across Portuguese territory to the capital of the Transvaal. In the year following that raid (1897), the Transvaal government expended \$4,717,550 for war purposes, and the rifles, cannon and ammunition thus purchased found their way over the railway line to Pretoria. Had the whole territory belonged to the Transvaal, the situation would have been in substance precisely what it is to-day.

With such a steady inflow of war *material* into the Transvaal for several years, it is easy to understand why her armies are so abundantly supplied with everything needed to offer their formidable resistance to the troops of Great Britain. Dr. Leyds, the agent of the South African Republic in Europe, no doubt speaks truthfully when he says these supplies are sufficient to last for years to come, and it is not difficult to believe the other statements that an immense armory and several warehouses are packed to the roofs with rifles and ammunition. In a preceding chapter we have described the defenses of Pretoria, and, when it is added that the railway trains going westward have to climb to the lofty plateau through the steep and narrow defile at Komati Poort, which bristles with cannon, some idea will be gained of the enormous difficulties that confront the British forces in capturing Pretoria from Delagoa Bay.

It was the discovery of the measureless deposits of gold and the completion of the railway line into the interior of the Transvaal that roused Delagoa Bay from its slumber to its possibilities, and gave it a boom and development that otherwise would have remained only a dream. It was a filthy, lazy, unhealthful town, whose principal industry was the reception and forwarding of the

"oceans of rum" into the interior for the natives. Now the steamships in the New York African trade make regular calls at Lorenzo Marquez, and the goods sent inland include machinery, squared timber, wheat, maize, lumber and petroleum, the port being really a forwarding point. The gold, however, has its outlet in the Cape and Natal ports.

Less than half the population of Lorenzo Marquez is Portuguese and the place has become what it is through German and English capital. The former government subsidizes the German steamships. As evidence of the boom of the town, it may be stated that land which in 1889 was worth less than a dollar per square metre is now worth \$150, with the tendency still upward, and houses in the same time have increased ten times in value.

From what has been said, an idea may be formed of the immense value of Delagoa Bay to Great Britain. It is not so long ago that Portugal declared she would not consider any proposition to sell it, but it is not unlikely she may be compelled to do so in the near future. Her treasury is in bad shape, and she has not yet paid for the building of the fifty-four miles of railway line through her territory. Upon its completion in 1889, she hunted up a pretext for declaring the concession of the railway line forfeited, the line confiscated, but the prompt action of the American and British governments brought her to her senses, and, when she comes to settle the bill, she may find herself compelled to sell Delagoa Bay as the only way of obtaining the necessary funds.

Naturally the tendency of all inventions in the line of war is to secure the greatest destruction of human life. It may be that when universal peace comes to bless mankind, it will be because the engines of war have been made so awfully destructive that no

nation can afford to resort to such means for the settlement of disputes. It will be a case of simply who gets in the "first blow" which will annihilate or render helpless the other.

It is a rare thing for a new weapon to prove more merciful than the implement it displaces, especially when no such intention enters the brain of the inventor; and yet that extraordinary fact applies to the Mauser rifle, used in our war with Spain and figuring in the battles in South Africa. It has been shown that the Mauser has a range and penetrating power so prodigious that a few years ago it would have been deemed the wildest impossibility, but nevertheless it is true that, in securing this wonderful power, a distinct and marked advance in lessening the horrors of war was made. The wounds inflicted by the Mauser are so small and clean cut that they quickly heal, and soldiers readily recover from hurts which, if inflicted by the older weapons, would inevitably result in death. Col. Albert L. Mills, superintendent of the West Point Military Academy, was struck by a Mauser bullet at San Juan, which entered one temple and passed out the other. It destroyed an eye, but to-day, in other respects, he is as strong and in as sound health as ever. Had the missile been fired by a Springfield or any other weapon, he would have been instantly killed.

Sir William McCormack, the President of the Royal College of Surgeons, volunteered his services for the South African war. He made a careful study of the effects of the Mauser bullets and has published a report of the same in the *Lancet*, the cases to which he reports being from the Wynberg Hospital, near Cape Town. They form most interesting reading:

"I saw a large number of injuries inflicted by the Mauser bullet, which is remarkable for the small external wound it

produces. In three-fourths, if not even a larger proportion, it was impossible to tell the exit from the entrance wound, they were so similar in appearance. Some were quite healed, but most were slits covered with an adherent black scab slightly depressed and saucer-like. Doubtless some contraction had taken place in healing, but the size was much smaller than the end of a lead pencil and quite circular. A few exit wounds were slits due to slight deflection of the bullets in their passage. These were already healed like an incised wound and showed a linear cicatrix about half an inch long. Probably most of these injuries were inflicted at a range of 1,000 yards, although the men said 500 was the distance, in very many instances, at which they had been hit. One man, a Gordon Highlander, had his elbow smashed up into small pieces. He believed it was an explosive bullet, but it may have been a Mauser at short range, for he was hit at a distance of 300 yards. The Boers, however, use other weapons. A Martini-Henry bullet was removed from the ball of a man's thumb yesterday—an almost solitary example of lodged bullet. They also fire hollow bullets which would have explosive effects. The Mauser bullet weighs, I believe, about 2.8 grains. Our Lee-Metford is a little heavier, about 2.7 grains, and does not carry so far by some hundreds of yards; while the old Martini-Henry is nearly double in weight, or some 4.0 grains. In the wards I noticed quite a number of perforating chest wounds and some remarkable perforations of bone without any solution of continuity or complete fracture; in one instance there was a perforation of the shaft of the tibia at the junction of the upper with the middle third of the bone, an injury which my previous experience would pronounce quite impossible.

"There were several cases in which the bullet had entered the

groin and emerged through the central portion of the buttock, the direction taken making it difficult to conceive how the femoral vessels, the sciatic nerve and artery, the femur and other important parts had escaped all injury. There were four abdominal injuries. In two severe hæmaturia followed and the direction of the wound suggested injury to the bladder. In another the bullet entered the buttock and emerged in front a little below the ribs. In a third instance the abdomen was traversed in a similar direction. There were hæmatemesis and bloody stools for three days without any further symptoms. In another case the bullet apparently traversed the abdomen from the right linea semilunaris in front at a point a little above the level of the umbilicus to emerge two inches to the right of the lumbar spine. There were no symptoms in this case of any kind.

"I will mention in the briefest way some of the cases I saw during my visit to the hospital at Wynberg.

"1. Bullet entered the chest on left side close to margin of sternum, just below the sixth rib. It must have passed between the internal mammary artery and the bone near its division; the ball then traversed the lung and emerged at the tenth rib about four inches from the spinal column; rapid convalescence — practically no symptoms; wounded on October 21.

"2. Bullet entered just below inferior angle of right scapula, between seventh and eighth ribs probably, and emerged just below center of right clavicle; result, similar to case 1.

"3. Bullet entered opposite center of infra spinous fossa of right scapula, emerged through rib in front three inches below middle of right clavicle. Man had hæmoptysis for a week; no dyspnoea or other symptoms.

"4. Bullet entered level of fourth dorsal vertebra, about two inches from spine on right side, emerged two inches below center of right clavicle. Man spat blood for a week; says he felt no inconvenience otherwise.

"5. Perforating wound of surgical neck of left humerus with some detached fragments. Skiagram shows extent of damage clearly. The fragments were removed; patient convalescent.

"6. Wound across knee; bullet entered one and a half inches behind, and on level of head of right fibula, emerging on inner side opposite middle of internal condyle. Wounds healed; joint mobile.

"7. Bullet entered anterior aspect of thigh two inches above upper border of patella and in the middle line, emerged over the inner tuberosity of the tibia, which appeared to be grooved by it. Wounds healed, joint mobile, yet it is difficult to suppose the joint escaped.

"8. Bullet entered middle of outer side of right knee and emerged through center of patella, causing a complete transverse fracture with about a quarter of an inch separation. The wounds had healed and the man had been able to get about, but on the previous day he had fallen and had hurt the injured knee, which caused a great deal of swelling. There is no rise of temperature and he is doing well. The joint is fairly movable. This man is a Boer field cornet, Pretorius by name. He is a fine looking man, with a cheery, pleasant face, and speaks English perfectly.

"9. Bullet entered opposite center of patella, through which it passed, and emerged opposite inner condyle, which was grooved by the ball. All evidence, save the scars of entrance and exit wounds, had disappeared and the knee was apparently as good as ever.

"10. Scar of entrance wound immediately over the right femoral artery and two inches below Poupart's ligament. The artery can be felt pulsating exactly beneath it. The bullet then passed apparently inside the upper end of the femur without impairing the bone and emerged just posterior to the great trochanter.

"11. Bullet entered in front of and an inch below the top of the great trochanter, which it grooved, and emerged through the middle of the buttock.

"12. Bullet entered anterior surface of thigh at junction of middle and upper thirds and, passing internally to the femur, emerged through the center of the buttock. In none of these last three cases had any important structure been damaged, and the wounds were either completely healed or were still covered with the small black scab already mentioned.

"13. In this case the man was wounded on October 21 and operated on by Colonel Stevenson twenty-four days afterward in the base hospital—viz., on November 14. He was doing quite well when I saw him, and three days later I heard he was practically quite well. The bullet entered from behind two inches below the fold of the axilla and emerged in front just beneath the anterior axillary fold. When Colonel Stevenson saw him he diagnosed a damaged artery from the gradually increasing tense swelling and absence of radial pulse. He made an incision, which had subsequently to be enlarged to five inches, and, after turning out nearly a pint of dark clotted blood, found a large breach in the vessel where the axillary becomes brachial. When the final portions of clot were removed, a formidable rush of arterial blood occurred, but this was immediately controlled and both ends of the vessel were

securely ligatured. When I saw the man a week exactly after the operation the external wound had healed except where the drainage-tube emerged. The temperature was normal and the general condition excellent. The wound was not quite aseptic from the start, but all went well. There was, when I examined him, no perceptible radial pulse.

"14. One man had four wounds in the upper extremities, caused by the same bullet. It entered the arm on the outer side two inches above the elbow joint and emerged two inches below, and then entered the ball of the thumb, smashed the metacarpophalangeal-joint, and finally emerged over the first phalanx.

"15. Bullet entered subcutaneous surface of tibia, a little below the junction of upper with middle thirds of the shaft of that bone. There was a clean cut perforation through the tibia, but no general fracture or solution of continuity, which is very remarkable in the compact tissue. This man says he was hit at 500 yards, but more probably it was 1,000.

"16. Bullet passed transversely across forehead about an inch above the level of the orbits; the bone is deeply grooved and along the upper margin there is an elevated fracture parallel to the groove. The man describes himself as being 'knocked silly' for a time and there was a temporary diplopia, but the wounds at each side of the forehead are healed and he claims to be perfectly well.

"17. Bullet entered right malar bone close to its junction with zygomatic process, passed almost transversely across, and emerged just above the center of the left zygomatic arch, which it grooved. There was copious bleeding from the mouth and the left ear, in which the patient is now deaf. He complained of loss of smell for a time, but this is restored. He is going about the ward,

the wound quite healed, and says he is perfectly fit and well. This man was wounded on October 30, distance said to be 250 yards."

On January 4, a largely attended meeting was held in Brussels to formulate a national address to President McKinley, urging his intervention in South Africa. The following is the text of the address:

"Deeply moved by the terrible and sanguinary conflict in which two civilized nations are engaged in South Africa, the undersigned make an urgent appeal in favor of that mediation that you alone are in a position to offer. We implore you to fulfill this sacred duty toward the fraternity of mankind."

Bearing upon this point, the statement was made by the United States government that no request of the nature referred to had been made by the Transvaal government and no attention would be paid to such requests unless made by both governments.

Attention was now fixed upon Ladysmith and the campaign of General Buller for its relief. The widespread anxiety was not allayed by the receipt of the following dispatch from General Buller:

"Frere Camp, January 6—12:45 P. M. The following has been received from General White (the commander at Ladysmith): 'I have beaten the enemy off at present, but they are still around me in great numbers, especially to the south, and I think a renewed attack very probable.' I see the sun has failed, so I cannot get further information from Ladysmith until to-morrow."

A second dispatch soon followed, as follows:

"Frere Camp, January 7. I received the following to-day from General White: 'At 3:15 P. M., January 6, the attack was renewed and was very hard pressed. I have absolutely no more news.'

There is no sun. There is a camp rumor that General White defeated the enemy at five P. M. and took 400 prisoners. I sent all available troops to make a demonstration against Colenso. The trenches there are all occupied by the enemy."

The two days' fighting in front of Ladysmith was of the hardest character. The Boers made desperate efforts to secure possession of Cæsar's Camp and its redoubts on Bester's Hill, which is less than two miles south of the British headquarters in Ladysmith and five miles west of the Boer position on Isambulwana Mountain. More than once it looked as if they must succeed, but they were met with unsurpassable courage and at one time were repelled at the point of the bayonet. Believing that General White's heliographs meant that he urgently needed relief, General Buller responded by ordering an advance by the two brigades of General Clery's division with a body of cavalry supported by artillery toward Colenso, on the afternoon of January 6. Night descended as the British troops approached Colenso, but although the Boer intrenchments were occupied in force, no reply was made from any of their positions to the British fire. The indications were that General Joubert was forcing matters to an issue. Much concern was felt for the garrison at Ladysmith, for it was known that a great deal of sickness was there and it was feared that the ammunition of the garrison was running low.

A minor reverse befell the British at Colesberg, where four companies of one of the battalions made a night attack on a Boer position, but were repulsed with the loss of seven officers and seventy men taken prisoners. The result most to be deplored was the moral effect produced by this incident upon the Boers, who were sure to be greatly encouraged.

Regarding General Gatacre, it may be said his attention was occupied with the doings of the Boers and insurgent Afrikanders to the east of his headquarters at Sterkstroom. It was stated from Cape Town that they were strengthening their position in Barkly East and were continually joined by members of the Afrikander population in the northeastern districts of Cape Colony.

One reason given for the delay of the Kimberley relief column was not generally known. It appears there were but three points in the direct advance to Kimberley where a sufficient supply of water could be depended upon, and all of them were held by Boers, who, as usual, had erected strong defensive works.

A dispatch on January 11 announced the arrival of Lord Roberts and General Kitchener and his staff at Cape Town, where they were received with great enthusiasm, but since days must pass before the hand of the commander could be felt, the general attention was directed northward, where everyone knew important events were impending.

The news from Cape Town was that the Boer successes had caused an outburst of enthusiasm in their favor. Even the children in schools, less than fifty miles to the northward, were practicing their songs of triumph and exultation. There seemed basis for the statement that President Kruger asked Boer headquarters why Ladysmith was not attacked, to which the reply was made that the losses would prove too heavy. Then the President suggested that the Orange Free State force be put at the front. This was done, and they gave the best possible account of themselves. They managed to seize a hill from the British, and when afterward the Transvaal Boers retreated before General White's counter attack, they were taunted and jeered by the Free Staters, who held their

captured position until driven out by the British at the point of the bayonet.

There was no concealing the fact that the distrust of General Methuen was not only general, but was growing. He had been guilty of great rashness, and it was reported that he was to be relieved of his command of the Kimberley relief column at the Modder River. The statement was made by the *Liverpool Post* that the War Office had in its possession a letter from General Wauchope, written on the eve of the battle of Magersfontein, in which he lost his life, containing these words:

"This is the last letter I shall ever write. I have been ordered to perform an impossible task.

"I have vainly remonstrated, but must obey or surrender my sword."

It was said further that when Wauchope fell, he exclaimed:

"For God's sake, don't blame me, boys; it is not my fault."

There was wonder on the part of many why General Methuen ever received the important command with which he was entrusted. He possessed no more than mediocre ability, and social influence had much to do with his promotion, the proverbial "pull" across the water being as effective at times as in Washington, U. S. A. The Magersfontein defeat was similar in its main features to Balaklava. There Nolan was killed in executing the movement when "someone had blundered," and the lips of General Wauchope, who might have told the whole truth, were sealed forever.

The first move of General Buller for the relief of Ladysmith was in the direction expected. He reported in his dispatch from Springfield (between the upper stream of the Tugela and the Little Tugela) that he had occupied the south bank of the main stream

at Potgieter's Drift and seized the crossing. The intention to attempt a movement by the Boer right flank was evident from the numerous reconnaissances in the direction named. That the Boers themselves expected it was shown by their disappearance from Springfield a number of days before and their taking up of a position on the north side of the Tugela, commanding Potgieter's Drift. There, it need hardly be said, they strongly fortified and intrenched, mounting some of the guns captured at Colenso weeks before.

The official statement of the losses on January 6 put them at 13 officers and 135 men killed and 27 officers and 245 men wounded. That of the Boers was much less, though no reliable figures were given. The statement was persistently repeated that General Methuen had been only nominally in command of his division since the Magersfontein defeat.

There had been such flagrant violation of the rights of neutrality in Delagoa Bay, that the Portuguese minister called "by appointment" at the Foreign Office on January 6. The call was followed by a declaration on the part of Portugal that thenceforward she would use greater care in observing the duties of a neutral.

At the same time no little irritation was felt over the attitude of Holland. The right of the young Queen to hold what sentiments she pleased could not be questioned, but England maintained that something was due her official position. She showed marked favors to Dr. Leyds, the Transvaal agent, who, with his associates, had shipped munitions of war and enlisted officers without the least hindrance. Moreover, she wrote to the Pope, the Kaiser and the King of Italy, praying them to take the diplomatic initiative to stop the cruel war.

England has had no stancher friend in her troubles than

Italy. From the beginning she placed every facility at the command of the British agents engaged in buying mules and other things, and at the same time strictly enforced her neutrality position against the Boer agents. Furthermore, when the Creusot Company absolutely refused to sell guns to Great Britain, word was telegraphed from Rome to the War Office in London that the great gunmakers, the Acieries Company, had ready for shipment a battery of large quick-firers, equal in all points to the famous French weapons. It took but a short time for a bargain to be struck. Dr. Leyds sent a written protest to Rome and received an acknowledgment of its reception, which was all.

A notable incident occurred on January 6, when a small British force from the Orange River bridge camp occupied a position on the north side of the river at Zoutpan's Drift, just within the Free State border, this being the first lodgment on Boer territory. A reconnaissance, a week later, by General Methuen, into the Orange Free State, from several points on the railway between the Orange and Modder rivers toward Bloemfontein and Jacobsdal, showed the country within twenty miles of the border to be free apparently of Boers, though signs were seen of them near Jacobsdal.

A sortie was made by the Kimberley garrison on the 9th toward Kamfersdam, north of the town and near the waterworks. There was a sharp exchange of artillery fire, but nothing was accomplished. The Rhodesian force, feeling its way for the relief of Mafeking, found the bridge four miles south of the Gaberones destroyed. Later dispatches stated that, as a result of the bombardment of Mafeking, the eastern fort defending the place was demolished and abandoned by the British garrison, which withdrew into the town. Nothing seemed more probable than that

Colonel Baden Powell, unless speedily relieved, would be obliged to capitulate.

On January 15 the Boers made a desperate attempt to take a hill at Rendsberg, Cape Colony, held by the Yorkshires and New Zealanders. They displayed great daring, creeping up the hill and using everything that could be turned into a cover. When close to the wall they made a rush, but the Yorkshires, consisting of only one company of the battalion and a small party of New Zealanders, some of whom had never been in battle before, bounded over the wall and made so fierce a bayonet charge that the Boers were put to a headlong flight and had to abandon their killed and wounded. Their loss was given as twenty-one killed and fifty wounded.

It was characteristic of President Kruger that he should see the hand of God in all events that took place in his country. It would be the same if his people were overwhelmed with ruin and destruction. He issued a circular letter to his generals urging them to zeal and promptitude, and declaring that God so blessed their efforts that, with energy, a successful issue might be expected. He urged them to read Psalm xxxiii, adding that the enemy had fixed their faith on Psalm lxxxiii. His final words were: "We must continue to fight in the name of the Lord."

In the earlier portion of this work we have given a description of the home life of President Kruger and of that remarkable man's personality. Since that was written, the following, from the *Christian Intelligencer*, has appeared, and it seems appropriate that it should close our reference to Oom Paul, thus completing a picture which cannot fail to be interesting, though framed in the grim setting of bloodshed and war:

"It is during the Jameson raid. The first lady of the land is

knitting stockings for her grandchildren. She is sitting on the porch of the simple cottage which constitutes the executive mansion of the South African Republic. In the "zykamer" (parlor) the president confers with his cabinet. "Tonte" (aunt) Kruger's attention seems to be entirely taken up by her work. She is counting the stitches. Suddenly she raises her head and listens. Somebody is speaking English.

It is one of the guards which have been placed around the cottage in order to protect Oom Paul from any treacherous design on the part of the "Uitlanders." Mrs. Kruger has an invincible aversion to the tongue of the British, although she speaks it fairly well. She immediately puts her knitting down and enters the room where the cabinet is in session. She unceremoniously interrupts the proceedings and informs "Neef" (cousin) Joubert that one of the guards was an "Engelsman" (Englishman). Through the window she points out the man in question. Piet Joubert laughs and assures her that the guard is a loyal "Afrikander." Her husband supports him, but his good wife is not satisfied. She quotes the old Dutch proverb that "caution is the mother of the china closet," and insists that the guard be replaced by a man who will speak "de taal" (the language) when on duty. The members of the cabinet know from experience that there is no gainsaying "Tonte" Kruger in matters which pertain to her husband's safety, and under some pretext or other General Joubert sends the offending guard home. "The first lady of the land" returns to the porch and quietly resumes her knitting.

A truly remarkable woman is this old lady, in whose veins flows the blood of the Duplessis family, one of her ancestors having been the great Duc de Richelieu.

When the writer's informant, Mr. H. Verschum, the well-known Dutch traveler, visited President Kruger at Pretoria, he found Mrs. Kruger engaged in preparing dinner, the incarnation of a simple housekeeper; yet, when an hour later the conversation turned on matters political, he was surprised to find her remarkably well informed, her husband evidently having a deep respect for her judgment. Mrs. Kruger reminded Mr. Verschum distinctly of the Princess Bismarck, whom he had met in Varzin years before, and who, though never openly mixing in politics, seemed to him to be a very valuable counsellor to the man of blood and iron.

Kindhearted, as she is, there is a peculiar gleam in her eyes whenever the subject of England is mentioned, and her mistrust of all that is British is so deep that to the casual visitor it may seem unjust. But when she begins to tell of the dangers and the misery of the long "teks" to which her family has been forced by British soldiers, it is easily understood how deeply this aversion is rooted in her heart as well as in the breasts of "Afrikanders." (It may be noted here that this is the name which all Boers invariably give to themselves, they never using the word "Boer," except as a designation for a farmer).

It is a common thing in the Transvaal to hear mothers bring their children to obedience by telling them that the "Engelsman" will catch them unless they mind their parents.

When we take this hatred of their enemies into consideration, the kindness and humanity with which the Boers—even according to English testimony—treat the British wounded and prisoners in the present war becomes a strong proof of the true Christian spirit among the people of the Boer republics.

A very pretty example of this is furnished when Mrs. Kruger

and her husband every morning gather the whole household in the parlor and a chapter from the Scriptures is read by either the President himself or his wife.

The first lines of Mrs. Kruger's favorite hymn, translated from the Dutch, read as follows:

“Where love doth dwell, there the Lord's blessing raineth,  
There dwells the Lord, there man His bliss obtaineth  
In life and in eternity.”

Though always afraid of publicity, Mrs. Kruger, in conjunction with her most intimate friend, the wife of Gen. Piet Joubert, put herself at the head of the temperance movement which was inaugurated in the Transvaal only a few years ago. Before that time there had been little necessity for temperance work in the two republics, the Boers being a very abstemious people, but the great influx of foreign adventurers and miners, especially at Johannesburg, changed the situation, and there was serious danger for the younger generation of Boers at least. Mrs. Kruger and Mrs. Joubert have from the beginning worked earnestly for the good cause and have succeeded in minimizing the danger which threatened their people.

And now, while the cruel war is going on, who is there more deserving of the sympathy of the Christian world than the kind old woman who has seen seven sons go into battle and is now praying to God for her country and for them?

H. VAN DEN BERGH.

## CHAPTER XXXII

### THE STRUGGLE FOR LADYSMITH

While all England was in a state of anxious suspense over impending movements for the relief of Ladysmith, particulars arrived of the Boer assault upon that place on the 6th of January. They were contained in a dispatch to the *Standard*, dated the 17th, and made it plain that the purpose of the Boers was to capture Cæsar's Camp and Wagon Hill, for if they succeeded they would have been within rifle range of the town. Cæsar's Camp was held by the Manchester regiment and between them and the Boer position was a rocky ravine. The correspondent says:

"In the early hours of the morning, under the cover of darkness, the Heidelberg Commando succeeded in evading our pickets, making their way through the thornbush, and reaching the foot of the slope. At half past 2 o'clock an alarm was raised by our sentries, but before the full extent of the danger could be realized the outlying sangars had been rushed and their defenders slain.

"Two companies of the Gordon Highlanders went to the help of the Manchesters. The Boers had then already secured a footing on the plateau, but their advance was checked by infantry volleys and an automatic gun. It was soon evident that the camp was being assailed on the left flank and in front. By daybreak reinforcements from the Gordons and the Rifle Brigade had been hurried to the firing line. Lieut.-Col. Dick-Cuningham, while leading the Gordons out of the camp, was mortally wounded by a stray bullet while still close to the town. The Fifty-third Battery crossed the Klip

River and shelled the ridge and the reverse slope of the front position, where the enemy were lying in the bushes. Shrapnel was used and it did terrible execution. The fire effectually checked the Boers and rendered it impossible for them to receive reinforcements through the ravine.

"The enemy throughout the engagement displayed the most stubborn courage. They were evidently determined to succeed or die. Meanwhile their guns were very busy. They threw more than a hundred shells at the Fifty-third Battery and the troops aiding it. The British, however, were equally gallant and resolved. They pressed the enemy back step by step until the remnant broke and fled in disorder.

"A terrific storm of rain and hail had meanwhile swelled the streams into torrents and numbers of the fleeing Boers in trying to cross them were swept away.

"The struggle at this point had now ended, but there was a more exciting contest going on in the direction of Wagon Hill. At two o'clock a storming party from the Harrismith commando crept slowly and cautiously along the donga in the valley which divides the British posts from their camp. A few rifle shots killed the British pickets.

"Then, taking advantage of the cover, the enemy gradually reached the crest of the hill, where the South African Light Horse were posted. The latter were forced to retire, not having breast-works. The Boers continued to advance until they reached the emplacement, where they surprised some working parties. Lieutenant Jones, with a handful of men, made a gallant effort to hold the position, but the British were outnumbered and driven back. The Boers then took possession of the summit of the hill. The Free

Staters, however, were unable to venture far, having to face a heavy fire from a sangar.

"The Twenty-first Battery and some cavalry arrived and prevented the stormers from being reinforced, but the British position was critical. They had retired for cover beyond the slope. While the enemy were making their way into the intervening pass, Major Bowen led a charge with a few rifles against them, but fell shot. Lieutenant Tod took his place and met the same fate. Then Major Wallnutt, calling the scattered Gordons together, charged and drove the Boers back and joined Lieutenant Jones.

"A pause then took place in the fighting, but soon after, taking advantage of the storm, the enemy attempted to rush the position. Three of their leaders reached the parapet, but Jones and Wallnutt shot them down. Major Wallnutt immediately afterward fell. This renewed check discouraged the assailants. Nevertheless, small parties of the braver ones maintained a murderous fire from behind the rocks. The final blow was a charge made by three companies of the Devonshires across the open under a terrible fire. They fairly hurled the enemy down the hill at the point of the bayonet. In the charge Captain Lafone and Lieutenant Field were killed and Lieutenant Masterson and ten men wounded.

"Our position was now secure. Attacks on the north and east had also been repulsed and the assault had failed all along the line. The Boers lost heavily. They admit that the engagement was the most severe blow their arms have sustained since the opening of the campaign.

"They were confident of their ability to capture the town. They had called for reinforcements from Colenso to assist them. The Ladysmith garrison can now await the coming of relief with

renewed confidence. The Earl of Ava, like Lieut.-Col. Dick-Cunningham, was mortally wounded while going forward."

Deeply interesting as was this news, it was almost overlooked in the excitement produced by the announcement that General Buller had begun his advance upon Ladysmith, and tidings of the highest importance were imminent. Lord Dundonald, with the mounted brigade, dashed forward on the 11th and seized the Springfield bridge. Then he pushed on and took a strong position at Swartz Kop, which commanded Potgieter's Drift. The Boers were completely surprised, a number of them being in the river bathing when Lord Dundonald's troops appeared.

With the exception of the garrison left to hold Colenso, the whole British force advanced without further delay. The South African Light Horse wished to bring the ferryboat to the south side of the river, and six of their daring fellows, under command of Lieutenant Carlyle, swam the stream and brought over the boat. While doing this they were exposed to a brisk fire, but no one was hit.

In a dispatch from Spearman's Camp, dated January 18, the War Office was informed by General Buller that one battery of field artillery, a howitzer and General Lyttleton's brigade had crossed the Tugela at Potgieter's Drift and were bombarding the Boer position five miles higher up. The troops of General Warren had passed the river on a pontoon bridge. The news was confirmed by a dispatch from General Lord Roberts.

A reconnaissance, made on January 12, showed the Boers were strongly intrenched on a number of low hills near the river and extending to Ladysmith. Their second main line of defense was at the edge of an extensive plateau, itself flanked and fortified by a

hill of considerable elevation. The winding course of the Tugela added further strength to their position.

On the eve of impending events, all were interested in knowing what forces were at the disposal of General Buller. In Ladysmith itself were what was left of four cavalry regiments, nearly all the members of one being prisoners at Pretoria; there were also the remnants of eleven infantry battalions, the greater part of two also being in Pretoria, and six field artillery batteries, General White's mountain battery having been captured at Nicholson's Nek.

Outside of Ladysmith there were twenty-one battalions of infantry, making up six brigades and four battalions employed to guard the base and communications, three regiments of cavalry, none more than five hundred strong, nine field batteries, and one mountain battery of artillery. It must be remembered, however, that two of the former batteries no longer existed, they having had one gun destroyed and ten captured in the defeat at Colenso. The last accounts represented General Buller as also having six naval guns, the intention being to add eight others.

Summing up the forces against which General Joubert was to act, there were thirty-four infantry battalions, six regiments of cavalry, nine field batteries, a single mountain battery and eighteen naval guns. In addition, there were the colonial and other irregulars, numbering some 2,600 men.

The Tugela being passed, the first important action reported was that in which the mounted force of Lord Dundonald was engaged on January 17. It took place west of Acton Homes and the Boer force was said to number 250. They were defeated with the loss of 21 killed and 23 prisoners. the British losing one officer killed and three men killed and wounded. The fact that the British

occupied the position thus secured showed that it was considered of importance. The Boers were in such force in the neighborhood that General Warren, the superior of Lord Dundonald, found it necessary to reinforce him with a detachment of a cavalry regiment.

Such momentous issues depended upon the results of this forward movement that General Buller, like an experienced general, took every step with extreme care. The statement that Ladysmith still contained enough food to last for days if not weeks, was reassuring and removed the necessity of General Buller hurrying his movements. On the other hand, the report of twenty deaths in three days from enteric fever showed there was no time to be wasted in the relief of the garrison, upon which anxious attention has been fixed for so long a time.

The news that was allowed to pass the censor showed that General Buller was proceeding with extreme caution, fully sensible of the momentous issues at stake. These reports, arriving on January 20, were that his artillery had opened on the Boer positions which blocked the forward movement of his infantry and which had to be carried before he could complete the turning movement on which his operations for the relief of Ladysmith depended. It was apparent that the Boers occupied a very strong position on Tabanmyana Mountain, well in front of General Warren's right and General Lyttleton's left. There could be no doubt that the Boers were preparing for the encounter with the same skill and iron resolution that they had shown in their previous engagements. The reconnaissances failed to induce them to unmask their positions.

The relief of Ladysmith had become a military necessity. Not only was the prestige of the British army involved, but the call for

such relief was imperative in order to hold the Dutch of Cape Colony in submission. It had been found necessary a short time before to proclaim martial law in the Philipstown, Hopetown and Prieska districts, the last being well to the west. If the 60,000 Dutch capable of bearing arms should choose to rise, the British troops would be placed in a most critical situation. The reports of General Buller showed the difficulty in attaining effective positions, the Boers mainly falling back from the advanced ridges between it and the British advance, as the artillery of the latter was pushed ahead to cover the infantry. When night approached, about a hundred wounded were brought in, the number of killed not being stated.

On January 22, however, a dispatch was received from General Buller shedding light on General Warren's attack. It was as follows:

"Spearman's Camp, January 21, nine P. M.—General Warren has been engaged all day, chiefly on his left, which he has swung forward a couple of miles. The ground is difficult, and, as the fighting is all the time up hill, it is difficult to say exactly how much we have gained, but I think we are making substantial progress."

The War Office also received the following from General Buller, dated Spearman's Camp, January 21, 6:55 A. M.:

"In order to relieve the pressure on General Warren, and to ascertain the strength of the enemy in the position in front of Potgieter's Drift, General Lyttleton made a reconnaissance in force yesterday. This kept the enemy in their trenches in full strength all day. Our casualties: Third Battalion King's Royal Rifles, two killed, twelve wounded, two missing."

The following from a correspondent:

Spearman's Camp, January 21, 10:20 P. M.—After ten hours of continuous and terrible fire yesterday, Generals Hart and Clery

advanced 1,000 yards. The Boers maintained an irregular fire during the night, but the British outposts did not reply. This morning at daybreak the Boers opened a stiff fire. The British stood to the guns, where they had slept, and the engagement was renewed vigorously. The field artillery poured shrapnel into the enemy's trenches. A rumor that Ladysmith had been relieved enlivened the British, who sent up a ringing cheer. This was taken for an advance. The first kopje was carried at the point of the bayonet, and the Boers retreated to the next kopje, which, like most others, was strewn with immense bowlders, surmounted by mounds on the summit. The British advanced steadily and the Boers relaxed slightly. The Boers did not show such tenacity as previously. Their Nordenfeldts fired at long intervals and their cannon fired but seldom. Apparently the Boers were short of big ammunition. All day the roar of musketry fire continued. The British took three Boer positions on the mountain and found shelter behind the bowlders.

On January 23 absolutely no news was given out in England, in connection with the operations of General Buller, in the way of official dispatches. The Reuter agency and the Associated Press, however, managed to get through several messages from Boer sources, and it is interesting to note their account of the desperate struggle going on in the vicinity of the Tugela River. One correspondent states that Commandant Viljoen narrowly escaped being killed by the explosion of a lyddite shell.

Head Boer Laager, Ladysmith, Monday, January 22.—A battle has been raging along the Oliver's Hook road since Saturday between the Boers under Pretorius and 6,000 British. The fighting is in full swing at Spien's Kop. The Boers under Botha and

Cronje have been sent thither. The British elsewhere are only making a reconnaissance of the Boer positions. President Steyn was under fire at the foremost position of the Free Staters. The quarters of Generals White and Hunter were smashed this morning by a shot from "Long Tom." It is not known whether any of the occupants of the building were killed.

Boer Camp, Upper Tugela River, Sunday, January 21.—After Commandant Botha checked the British advance yesterday morning it was expected that there would be no further action until to-morrow.

This afternoon, however, signs were discerned of an intended movement in the British northern camp. When the heat, which was more frightful than any yet experienced, had worn off, the British cannon started in full force and the infantry advanced in extended order. Generals Botha and Cronje held the high hills over which the road to Ladysmith passed. When the Mauser fire opened a pandemonium of sound filled the air. The vindictive crash of lyddite shells, the sharp volleys of Lee-Metfords and the whiplike crack of Mausers were interspersed with the boom of the Boer Maxims.

The battle ended with darkness, but not without evidences of execution among the British that were manifest at sunrise. Field Cornet Ernst Emilio was killed, nor did the generals escape unscathed. At the central position, Swart Kop, where the other road to Ladysmith crossed the hills, the British advanced from low kopjes on the banks of the Tugela unmolested. Then they entered the zone of Mauser fire, and, although their naval guns kept up the usual terrible racket, the advance was stopped and the British had to count out their dead and wounded. Commandant Viljoen

and two burghers were knocked senseless by an explosion of lyddite, but Commandant Viljoen recovered. Field Cornet Heilbron was wounded, and, on refusing to surrender, was shot.

The British loss was probably insignificant. They complain that expansive bullets in Mausers were found in the field and soft-nosed bullets with Lee-Metfords. The Boers admit that sporting Mausers were occasionally found, but they deny the charge respecting expansive bullets. Not a shot was fired by the Boers with cannon or rifle at the Swart Kop position this side of the river. One thousand infantry and a battery advanced into the second row of low hills between the republicans and the river. Heavy cannonading proceeded at a range of 2,000 yards, but the Boers maintained the silence of death. This must have staggered the British, as the advance was stopped, and this morning they had retired to their old positions.

For several days no definite news came of General Buller's effort to take Spion Kop, "the key to Ladysmith." Spion Kop is described as a hill 4,800 feet high, of which the summit is about four miles north of Wagon Drift. It stands on the eastern edge of a plateau, five or six miles long and three miles wide, the western edge overlooking the line from Wagon Drift to Acton Homes. From Spion Kop the Boer big guns hold a position against Ladysmith. Rifleman's Ridge is about eleven miles away in a straight line and may be seen with a good glass. The task before General Buller's force was, first, to take Spion Kop and any other part of the plateau then still in the hands of the Boers. After that he had eleven miles to cover, and perhaps fifteen to walk, and the Boer big guns to capture.

England, and in fact the whole world, waited breathlessly for

news of Buller's advance. Then suddenly came the announcement that Spion Kop had been taken by the British January 26. There was great joy in England, for here was something in the way of real success. London glowed with the hope that the end was now near and that the Boers would be driven back at once. But this hope was only transitory, for three days later it was given out that General Warren had been unable to hold the hill, and after tremendous loss of men had been compelled to abandon Spion Kop in the night-time after holding it only a few hours. Warren's lack of success was followed by the further painful announcement that General Buller had retreated with his whole army across the Tugela. The following is the text of General Buller's dispatch posted by the British War Office January 28:

On January 20 Warren drove back the enemy and obtained possession of the southern crests of the high table land extending from the line of Acton Homes and Honger's Poort to the western-Ladysmith hills. From then to January 25 he remained in close contact with the enemy. The enemy held a strong position on a range of small kopjes stretching from northwest to southeast across the plateau from Acton Homes, through Spion Kop, to the left bank of the Tugela. The actual position held was perfectly tenable, but did not lend itself to an advance, as the southern slopes were so steep that Warren could not get an effective artillery position, and water supply was a difficulty.

On January 23 I assented to his attacking Spion Kop, a large hill, indeed a mountain, which was evidently the key of the position, but was far more accessible from the north than from the south. On the night of January 23 he attacked Spion Kop, but found it very difficult to hold, as its perimeter was too large, and

water, which he had been led to believe existed, in this extraordinary dry season, was found very deficient. The crests were held all that day against severe attacks and a heavy shell fire. Our men fought with great gallantry. I would especially mention the conduct of the Second Cameronians and the Third King's Rifles, who supported the attack on the mountain from the steepest side, and in each case fought their way to the top, and the Second Lancashire Fusiliers and Second Middlesex, who magnificently maintained the best traditions of the British army throughout the trying day of January 24, and Thornycroft's mounted infantry, who fought throughout the day equally well alongside of them.

General Woodgate, who was in command at the summit, having been wounded, the officer who succeeded him decided on the night of January 24 to abandon the position, and did so before dawn January 25. I reached Warren's camp at 5 A. M. on January 25 and decided that a second attack on Spion Kop was useless and that the enemy's right was too strong to allow me to force it. Accordingly I decided to withdraw the force to the south of the Tugela. At 6 A. M. we commenced withdrawing the train, and by 8 A. M. January 27 (Saturday) Warren's force was concentrated south of the Tugela without the loss of a man or a pound of stores. The fact that the force could withdraw from actual touch—in some cases the lines were less than a thousand yards apart—with the enemy, in the manner it did, is, I think, sufficient evidence of the morale of the troops, and that we were permitted to withdraw our cumbrous ox and mule transports across the river, eighty-five yards broad, with twenty-foot banks and a very swift current, unmolested, is, I think, proof that the enemy has been taught to respect our soldiers' fighting powers.

The following was the Boer account of the battle: Boer Headquarters, Modder Spruit, Upper Tugela, Wednesday, January 24, midnight, via Lorenzo Marquez, Thursday, January 25.—Some Vryheid burghers from the outposts on the highest hills of the Spion Kop group rushed into the laager saying that the kop was lost and that the English had taken it. Reinforcements were ordered up, but nothing could be done for some time, the hill being enveloped in thick mist. At dawn the Heidelberg and Carolina contingents, supplemented from other commandos, began the ascent of the hill. Three spurs, precipitous projections, faced the Boer positions. Up these the advance was made. The horses were left under the first terrace of rocks. Scaling the steep hill, the Boers found that the English had improved the opportunity and intrenched heavily. Between the lines of trenches was an open veldt, which had to be rushed under a heavy fire, not only from rifles, but of lyddite and shrapnel from field guns. Three forces ascended the three spurs coördinately, under cover of fire from the Free State Krupps, a Creusot and a big Maxim. The English tried to rush the Boers with the bayonet, but their infantry went down before the Boer rifle as before a scythe.

The Boer investing party advanced step by step until two in the afternoon, when a white flag went up and 150 men in the front trenches surrendered, being sent as prisoners to the head laager. The Boer advance continued on the two kopjes east of Spion Kop. Many Boers were shot, but so numerous were the burghers that the gaps filled automatically. Toward twilight they reached the summit of the second kopje, but did not get further. The British Maxims belched flame, but a wall of fire from the Mausers held the English back. Their center, under this pressure, gradually gave

way and broke, abandoning the position. The prisoners speak highly of the bravery of the burghers, who, despising cover, stood against the sky-line edges of the summit to shoot the Dublin Fusiliers, sheltered in the trenches. Firing continued for some time, and then the Fusiliers and the Light Horse, serving as infantry, threw up their arms and rushed out of the trenches. The effect of the abandonment of Spion Kop by the English can hardly be gauged as yet, but it must prove to be immense. An unusually high proportion of lyddite shells did not explode.

A London war correspondent, writing from Frere Camp, January 26, described the action at Spion Kop as follows:

"I have just ridden in here, having left General Buller's forces in the new positions south of the Tugela, to which they retired in consequence of the reverse at Spion Kop. The fighting, both before and after the occupation of the mountain, was of a desperate character. Spion Kop is a precipitous mountain overtopping the whole line of kopjes along the Upper Tugela. On the eastern side the mountain faces Mount Alice and Potgieter's Drift, standing at right angles to the Boer central position and Lyttleton's advanced position. The southern point descends in abrupt steps to the lower line of kopjes. On the western side, opposite the right outposts of Warren's force, it is inaccessible steep until the point where the nek joins the kop to the main range. Then there is a gentle slope, which allows easy access to the summit. The nek was strongly held by the Boers, who also occupied a heavy spur parallel with the kopje, where the enemy was concealed in no fewer than thirty-five rifle pits, and was thus enabled to bring to bear upon our men a damaging cross fire, the only possible point for a British attack being the southern side, with virtually sheer precipices on the left and right.

"A narrow footpath, admitting men in single file only, to the summit, opens into a perfectly flat table land, probably of 300 square yards area, upon which the Boers had hastily commenced to make a transverse trench. Our men were able to occupy the further end of this table land, where the ridge descended to another flat; which was again succeeded by a round, stony eminence held by the Boers in great strength. The ridge held by our men was faced by a number of little kopjes at all angles, whence the Boers sent a concentrated fire from their rifles, supported by a Maxim-Nordenfeldt and a big long-range gun. What with the rifles, the machine guns and the big gun, the summit was converted into a perfect hell. The shells exploded continually in our ranks, and the rifle fire, from an absolutely unseen enemy, was perfectly appalling. Reinforcements were hurried up by General Warren, but they had to cross a stretch of flat ground which was literally torn up by the flying lead of the enemy. The unfinished trench on the summit gave very questionable shelter, as the enemy's machine guns were so accurately trained upon the place that often sixteen shells fell in the trench in a single minute.

"Mortal men could not permanently hold such a position. Our gallant fellows held it tenaciously for twenty-four hours, and then, taking advantage of the dark night, abandoned it to the enemy."

On February 1 it was given out that the total list of casualties above the Tugela was 1,985 men and officers and 200 missing. It was thought at first that Buller's retreat meant the abandonment of Ladysmith, but a more hopeful feeling prevailed after the opening of Parliament. The Queen's speech gave no indication of an abandonment of the struggle. The London *Times* called Spion Kop a

"second Yorktown," but insisted on the dispatch of 50,000 more men to South Africa.

Mr. Wyndham, in behalf of the government, declared in the House of Commons that Great Britain would shortly have in South Africa 180,000 regulars, 7,000 Canadians and Australians, and 26,000 South African volunteers, making a total of 213,000 troops, with 452 guns.

When, in times of peace, Great Britain pauses to enshrine the heroes whose blood was shed for the relief of Ladysmith, the name of General Sir Redvers Buller will not provoke adverse criticism. Few commanders in the history of war were called upon to accomplish such a stupendous task as that which General Buller completed, when, after four months of almost unparalleled fighting, constant vigilance in repelling forces, and desperate struggles with the death dealing fevers and grim starvation, he sent his troops into the dusty streets of the long-beleaguered city. All the English speaking world said that costly as the campaign had been, March 28 was a day long to be remembered as marking the greatest substantial result of the British advance on the federals. The sick, sore, weak and half starved garrison cheered faintly, because of its physical condition, but the cheer was heard around the world. Weeks afterward, when some of the powder-marked and bullet-torn heroes who had driven the Boer forces from the besieged city reached Albion's shores, an awaiting people emphasized the cheers until the farthest boundaries of the belt of atmosphere surrounding this mundane sphere must have been agitated.

General Buller had been commander-in-chief of the British forces in South Africa until December 17, 1899, when the Imperial War Office issued the order conferring on Lord Roberts that com-

mand. Three attempts to succor Ladysmith, as the world well knew, had been as gallantly made as any fighting man of the world could make.

The fourth and successful attempt at rescue had been accomplished by the expenditure of much blood and effort. Ladysmith was a prize that the federal armies battled hard for. Millions of pounds sterling worth of supplies and munitions of war were stored in the beleaguered city. It was apparent that Natal could never be quieted until the Boers were driven from their points of advantage in the vicinity of the city. Critics not blinded by the desire of the commander for his three attempts to surmount obstacles that have never been adequately described to the world, admit that the story of the relief of Ladysmith is at once the most thrilling tale of blood and fire, and the most inspiring chapter of the war in Natal. Having established a camp at Chievely and put his army in good condition, General Buller moved to the ford across the Tugela River near Colenso and attempted a crossing December 15. He was with the main column under Gen. Sir Cornelius Francis Clery, numbering some 15,000 men, and although he knew the Boers were strongly entrenched, not only on the north bank of the stream, but had placed sharpshooters in the middle of the river as well, the charge was ordered.

Commandant Joubert was indisposed at the time—his illness soon resulted in his demise—but he had laid out a line of defense to which his second in command, General Schalkenberg, strictly adhered, and the result was a reverse for the British arms. The Imperial forces fought with a bravery that challenged the attention of the world, but the unseen foe worked great carnage. Nearly 1,150 officers and men were killed, wounded or missing, or included in the list of prisoners.

All but two of the guns of the Fourteenth and Sixty-sixth batteries, under command of Colonel Long, were captured. Field Marshal Roberts' son was killed in a gallant attempt to retake the guns, and the nation shared with the gray-haired hero of Kandahar, his intense grief, which even the granting of the much prized Victoria Cross to his dead son, did not assuage.

General Clery's force was disposed in three columns; that of General Hart attacking on the left, General Hildyard's on the right and General Lyttleton's in the center, the latter being prepared to go to the assistance of the other two if necessary. As the English advanced to the ford they were met by a fire that mowed down the brave lads in files; when they dashed into the water they became entangled in the strands of barbed wire hidden under the surface of the water, and while floundering there, were easy victims of the inflading volleys from the marksmen ensconced behind well-concealed positions.

Meanwhile, the two batteries named, having been ordered to the support of the infantry, took position by order of Colonel Long, on the river bank within fair range of the Boer riflemen, and before the guns were fairly at work, the horses and artillerymen were nearly all shot down. Colonel Lyon's bravery and zealous desire to hit the enemy a telling blow from a close range, may have blinded his judgment, and while he was not entirely responsible for the reverse, the loss of the guns convinced General Buller that further efforts to effect the crossing would be futile, and he therefore ordered a return to Camp Chievely. The Dublin and Inniskilling Fusileers, the Connaught Rangers and the Devon regiment were the greatest sufferers.

Great Britain was plunged into grief by three reverses—General

Gatacre's at Stormberg, Lord Methuen's at Magersfontein and General Buller's at the Tugela, but the indomitable spirit of the Imperial army was not broken. The rank and file was even more eager to crush the Boer forces. Withholding comment on General Buller, the people settled down to await further advices. Lord Roberts, from his headquarters, gave General Buller full swing in Natal, and on January 11, 1900, Sir Redvers again massed his forces on the south bank of the river, occupying Potgeiter's Drift, fifteen miles west of Colenso, eight miles north of Springvaal on the road to Dewdrop and Ladysmith, his advance line being about fifteen miles from Wagon Hill, where General White, commanding at Ladysmith, administered such a sound thrashing to the Boers January 6.

Fighting began in earnest on January 19, when General Warren began working over the ridges, the Boers keeping him busily engaged that day and the day following. General Lyttleton occupied a position near Brakfontein, and then General Warren tried a flanking movement on the left toward Spion Kop. The occupation of the position, and the subsequent abandoning of the Kop, have been exhaustively treated in this work. On the 27th General Buller was again south of the Tugela, his second effort to reach Ladysmith having cost him 1,985 officers and men, removed from the field of service. General Woodgate, who was wounded on the 24th, died the following day.

On February 2, General Buller again recrossed the Tugela, this time with his determination to succeed so palpable that the correspondents wired home their positive assurances that General White's garrison would soon be freed. It was even said that Buller had resolved to win or die in the attempt. No burgher

resistance could withstand such determination. The commander had learned the efficacy of artillery in those rocky valleys, and his guns were called upon to do a great deal of execution. Vaal Krantz was occupied and a feint attack at Potgeiter's Drift was made, the idea being to form a wedge that would separate the Boer forces at Spion Kop and Colenso. The thin edge of the wedge was driven into the range of hills south and east of Brakfontein with the object of drawing the burghers out of their entrenchments so that the British could get at them in the open near Ladysmith. General Lyttleton, on Vaal Krantz, was compelled to sustain a heavy artillery fire from three sides for two days, February 5 and 6, the most effective work being done by the Boer guns on Doorn Kloof, besides repelling attacks from the infantry of the burghers, which made repeated charges. These were met in gallant style by the Durham Light Infantry, King's Royal Rifles and Scottish Rifles, who not only held their own ground, but forced the Boers back at the point of the bayonet. British steel was too much for the enemy that had hitherto carefully avoided many close encounters with the dashing British troops.

Towards sunset on the 6th, General Lyttleton was relieved by General Hildyard, but even fresh troops could not stand such persistent pounding. The army was at length forced to withdraw, having lost 368 killed and wounded. All England, and indeed the entire world, was astonished that General Buller had wavered in his determination—that he had retired again to the south bank of the Tugela. His three failures had cost him 3,500 men, and the outlook for raising the siege was dark. But it was the darkness that preceded the coming of the dawn.

Almost as if some mighty pendulum of war had swung from the Modder River country to the Tugela, the "up-and-at-them" spirit became simultaneous. Lord Roberts was beginning his great movement toward Kimberley and Bloemfontein and Buller caught the spirit and crossed the Tugela, not to see the ill-fated river again, for his progress was steadily onward, even to the Transvaal country through Laing's Nek. Buller did a great deal of hard fighting and it counted toward the general result. On the 20th he was but twelve miles from Ladysmith. The garrison could hear the welcome booming of the naval guns, and the impending release of general White seemed as certain as the capture of Cronje over in the western district.

Gradually step by step, Buller's army surged towards Ladysmith, the opposition of the Boers steadily lessening, the reports from Lord Roberts evidently having a depressing effect upon the burghers. By hard work the country to the south of Buller's position had been cleared of Boers; Colenso was under the Union Jack, every position and point of vantage from which the burghers could harass or delay the English was occupied, and the clouds which had so long hung over the fortunes of the Queen's troops in Natal began to disappear. For ten days before the actual relief of the garrison, the British troops fought continuously, but with the knowledge that victory would shortly be theirs. The troops endured every conceivable hardship and privation, confronted every danger, dared death to reap them in, and had the proud privilege of accomplishing the task set for them.

General Buller's men entered Ladysmith on the first of March, three days after the surrender of General Cronje. The last position taken outside the town was Pieter's Hill, General Warren's men

sweeping over it in fine style in the face of a hot fire. Then the Boer stampede began. The great guns on Bulwana Hill were removed, the burgher infantry and cavalry broke into squads and scattered in all directions in hasty and ignominious flight. These forces got out of reach just in time to escape the headlong dash of Lord Dundonald's cavalrymen, who came tearing across the veldt in a hot race, each man being anxious to be the first to greet the brave men who had stood out against shot and shell, starvation and disease for four long months.

The formal entry into Ladysmith was a signal for much rejoicing among the men who had been besieged. But General White gained the affection of all loyal followers of Her Majesty by his speeches. "God Save the Queen" was a song that the soldiers sung before they would call for the mess song. Service in the trenches during long days of short rations had not dulled the love of these fighting men for their sovereign. Hunger was driven out by the entry of supply trains, and after the thin, weak soldiery had been removed to convenient places for recuperation, General Buller began to use Ladysmith for his base of operations. General White, bowed with his own deep thoughts, went to England, where he was enthusiastically received. "You are kind to a man who lost England regiments" he said, as the tears trickled down his cheeks. But he had also saved Great Britain many thousands of soldiers and treasure by his tact and skill and courage.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

### LORD ROBERTS IN COMMAND—THE RELIEF OF KIMBERLEY, CAPTURE OF CRONJE AND OCCUPATION OF BLOEMFONTEIN

Matters in the western campaign in early February demanded that the cunning of the mobile Boer forces be matched not with the prodigal but wasteful personal bravery on the part of British troops, but with a superior article of strategy. None saw quicker than Lord Roberts from his position at Cape Town that a decisive stroke had to be given from the Modder River.

The press censor let pass the news that Lord Roberts and his cool-headed chief of staff, Lord Kitchener, had started from Cape Town about February 8th, bound for the theater of action on the Modder River.

With the hero of Kandahar giving the army his personal direction, the troops inspired by the sentiment and dash of the situation, it became patent to all that the Boer forces would soon be put on the defensive. The long expected aggressiveness that was nipped by the repulse of Methuen, would follow the leadership of the gallant "Bobs." From the colonies there came a chorus of joyful statements. Canada was especially grateful, for her contingent would have abundant and immediate opportunity to show Lord Roberts of what stuff they made men in the Dominion.

Cronje, the "Lion of South Africa" must have learned soon after Lord Roberts' arrival that he had at last to render an account to Great Britain's greatest general. From the moment Lord Roberts began to direct matters the burgher commandant seemed to be

disheartened. None knew Lord Roberts' plans. If Lord Kitchener had a move to carry out he successfully instituted the strictest press censorship the correspondents had ever felt. "On to Kimberley" became a slogan of as much importance as the relief of Ladysmith.

History will tell to many generations how fraught with big results was the irresistible strategy of Lord Roberts. With a rapidity that was almost marvelous, he not only relieved the long-beleaguered garrison at Kimberley, and struck the Boer cause a telling blow by capturing Cronje and over 4,000 prisoners, but he marched his troops in triumph to the capitol of the Orange Free State, there to lay plans for one of the greatest forward movements in the enemy's country that has ever been made. There was so much of great importance to Lord Roberts' achievements that the people did not know which to celebrate the most. But Majuba Hill was avenged and that sufficed to assuage the spirit of grief over Magersfontein. Achievements that few commanders could boast in the history of any nation were accomplished by "Bobs." To the colonies there came a wave of patriotism that was almost unparalleled, when Lord Roberts told of the dash and personal bravery of the Canadian troops that forced the surrender of Cronje. Nothing but an irresistible advance to Pretoria could be the ultimate execution of the great commander, said the critics. February 10 the expectant Empire heard from Lord Roberts in two short dispatches. General Gatacre has repulsed the Boers and General Macdonald has successfully established himself at Koodoosberg to balk the enemy in the attempt to block the main drift at that place. It became apparent at once that the British leader wished to make certain that his plans would not be disturbed by new arrivals from the Ladysmith country. With Cronje forced to aban-

lon his strongly entrenched positions, no relief could be sent him from the Tugela, and Kimberley, shut up for long weary months, would be entered by British troops. With all his scheming to overthrow Cronje, Lord Roberts had time to receive the reports of General Buller and order the third advance on Ladysmith. Thus were the stages of the two great theaters of war put upon a mutual basis.

Cronje knew he had met more than his match. The wily leader began at once to retire from the trenches at Magersfontein and concentrate his forces near Kimberley. The phlegmatic tactics of Cronje were to be met by the brilliant strategy of "Bobs." How to protect the De Aar and Modder River lines of railway communication from flank attacks, was one of Lord Roberts' earliest problems. In some inexplicable manner the British commander sent word to Colonel Kekewich in Kimberley that relief was coming. The feverish anxiety of the Boers to strike Lord Roberts a hard blow before they retired, prompted them to renew their bombardments of the diamond city, but with greatly increased force. Kimberley held on. In fact all the garrisons that were besieged and instructed by Lord Roberts to "hold out" did as directed. The British commander was at once attracted to the brilliant and dashing young officer, General French, and a friendship was established that gave French every opportunity to distinguish himself, even to the action at Six Mile Spruit near Pretoria. "Strike a blow at the Boers' base of supplies," ordered the leader, and General French faithfully executed the command. With three brigades of cavalry and mounted infantry, horse artillery and a colonial contingent, French swept away a Boer force at Clip Drift, forced a passage of the stream, occupied the surrounding hills and captured three Boer laagers that were rich

in supplies. Instant success had marked the invasion of the Free State.

The trenches that the Boer riflemen had so long occupied at Magersfontein were made unavailable. It was a "retreat" all along the line for the burghers and "advance" by French's mounted troops. Some skirmishing not dignified with exhaustive mention by the British commander, followed the dashing movements of French, and then came the news that Great Britain had waited so long for. February 16 "Bobs" sent the dispatch "Kimberley relieved." From October 15 the garrison at that city had been beleaguered. Malignant Boers thought they saw in the capture of the city and Cecil Rhodes an opportunity to deal a crushing blow to Great Britain. "French with artillery, cavalry and mounted infantry, reached Kimberley last evening," wired the Field Marshal, and he supplemented this with General French's dispatch, dated Jacobsdal: "I have completely dispersed the enemy from the southern side of Kimberley from Alexandersfontein to Olipantsfontein, and am now going to occupy their ground.

"Have captured the enemy's laager and store depot supplies and supplies of ammunition. Casualties about twenty, of all ranks, wounded. Kimberley cheerful and well."

But all this had not been accomplished without the baptism of blood for the Canadian contingent. In the Sunday engagement at the Modder River, nineteen Canadians were killed and sixty-one wounded.

#### SURRENDER OF GENERAL CRONJE

Leaving Colonel Kekewich and his relieved garrison to hold the Boer trenches, General French started out anew on the expe-

ditions that Lord Roberts had mapped out for him. The enemy was terror stricken. The flight of Cronje and his attempts to plant his guns in positions that would be regarded as impregnable by the onrushing British, formed a prelude for the story of one of the most desperate but hopeless resistances in history. Boers escaping from the Magersfontein country seeking dry river bottoms, Boers fleeing in all directions and being constantly pressed by the British, all afforded the people of the British Empire a most cheering possibility of a decisive victory. Meanwhile, what of General French? This leader of cavalry was scouring the country north of Kimberley. One of General Kelley-Kenny's brigades of infantry was in hot pursuit of a Boer convoy moving towards Bloemfontein. Subsequently it was the good fortune of that general to capture this rich prize. In the booty were seventy-eight wagons and plenty of supplies and ammunition.

The lion of South Africa was at bay. Hard Scots, who stood over the trenches when the mortal remains of General Wauchope and his brave men were interred, recalled the Highland oath. It was to be no mercy for the foe. The death trap that Roberts had set for Cronje, and which was sprung at Paardeburg after a fierce cannonading of several days, when the gallant Canadian contingent sapped, burrowed and charged to within eighty yards of the deep burrows of the surrounded Boers, was plainly apparent to every expectant reader of Lord Roberts' brief dispatches.

British correspondents writing from Paardeburg Drift, February 20th, praised the magnificent strategy that Cronje had used in making his night march from Magersfontein. The Boer position was described as hopeless, as it was commanded by the British artillery and inclosed on the east and west by British infantry.

Although tired and harassed, the foe made a bold stand. After the Boers had effectually stopped the advances of mounted infantry, the Highland brigade, which moved up the river bed and partly in the open, lay on the ground exposed to a merciless fire which did not cease until nightfall. But the remainder of the infantry completed the enveloping process, the Welsh regiment seizing the drift. Cronje's laager, full of carts and ammunition, was then in full view of the British troops.

General Smith-Dorrien, with a large body of men, including the Canadians, crossed the river by Paardeburg Drift and advanced toward the laager, which was being vigorously shelled. The force made a gallant effort to charge into the laager, but the fire was murderous. That night the artillery of the British kept up good practice on the Boer laager, and death and destruction was dealt out to the enemy. The beginning of the end of Cronje's force was at hand.

In reply to General Cronje's request for an armistice of twenty-four hours to bury his dead, Lord Kitchener told the Boer commander that he must fight to a finish or surrender unconditionally. The Boer leader thought to hold out until assistance might reach him. It was about this time that a delayed message from Lord Roberts, dated February 22, 4:17 P. M., conveyed this official intelligence: "Yesterday afternoon I was satisfied by a careful reconnaissance in force of the enemy's position that I could not assault it without very heavy loss, which I was most anxious to avoid. Accordingly I decided to bombard him with artillery and turn my attention to the enemy's reinforcements. The result was most satisfactory. The Boers were driven off in all directions, losing a good many killed and wounded and about fifty prisoners, who,

they say, arrived from Ladysmith two days ago. They also say that it was our artillery fire which caused them to abandon the kopje they were occupying. Our loss was two officers, Captain Campbell, of the 9th Lancers and Lieutenant Houston, of the artillery, and four men, all slightly wounded."

From the same place, under date of February 22, Lord Roberts sent the following telegram to His Excellency, the Governor General of Canada:

"The Canadian Regiment has done admirable service since its arrival in South Africa. I deeply regret the heavy loss it suffered fighting the 18th inst., and beg you will assure the people how much we all here admire the conscious gallantry displayed by our Canadian comrades on this occasion." What a harbinger of the harvest of death that was to be read in the public prints when Canada again went into action.

Versatile Lord Roberts found time to turn from contemplating the work of the shells on the Boer positions, to do some thinking for the economical welfare of his charge—the relieved garrison at Kimberley. He directed Methuen to push forward food and supplies as quickly as possible, and to do whatever was best for the people about starting up the De Beers mines. Coal was needed and Lord Roberts saw that it was obtained. He wished to afford employment, and thereby alleviate misery. The hospital at Kimberley was managed so well, said the British leader, that he wished he could send his wounded there.

For days Lord Roberts contented himself with slowly coiling in the toils on the doomed Cronje. There was little use in wasting his men by attacks when the result could be foreseen. February 27, General Roberts announced the unconditional surrender of

General Cronje with all of his force. The particulars were given in the following message from Paardeburg, dated February 27, 11:20 a. m.:

"From information received from the Intelligence Department it became apparent that the Boer forces were becoming depressed and discontented. This, no doubt, had been accentuated by the disappointment caused by the fact that the Boer reinforcements had been defeated.

"I resolved, therefore, to bring pressure to bear on the enemy's trenches. We pushed forward gradually so as to contract his position and at the same time I bombarded heavily. This was materially added to by the arrival of four six-inch howitzers which were brought from De Aar. In carrying out these measures the captive balloon greatly assisted in giving the necessary information as to the disposition of the enemy.

"At three o'clock this morning a most dashing advance was made by the Canadian regiment and the engineers, supported by the First Gordons and the Second Shropshires, which resulted in our gaining a point 600 yards nearer the enemy and 80 yards from his trenches, where our men intrenched and maintained the position till morning. It was a gallant deed, worthy of our colonial soldiers, and one which, I am glad to say, was attended with comparatively slight loss.

"This apparently precipitated matters. At daylight a letter signed by Cronje was sent in under a flag of truce, in which he stated that he surrendered unconditionally. In my reply I told Cronje he must present himself at my camp and his force must come out of the laager after laying down their arms.

"At seven o'clock I received Cronje and in the course of the

conversation Cronje asked for kind treatment at our hands; also that his wife, grandson, private secretary, adjutant and servants might accompany him wherever he might be sent. I reassured him and told him his request would be complied with. I told him a general officer would be sent with him to Cape Town to insure his being treated with proper respect and that he would start to-day.

"The prisoners number about three thousand and will be formed into commandos under their own officers. They will leave here to-day, reaching Modder River to-morrow, whence they will be sent to Cape Town in detachments."

In a later dispatch, the number of prisoners was given as about 4,000, of whom some 1,150 were Free Staters. General Roberts referred to the "very successful attack by the Royal Canadian Contingent on the enemy's trenches this morning." In a message to the Governor General he characterized the conduct of the Canadians at Paardeberg as worthy of their colonial comrades.

#### SURRENDER OF BLOEMFONTEIN

It was taken for granted that the ultimate result of Lord Roberts' strategy would be the occupation of Bloemfontein. The hero of Kandahar might have accomplished this feat within a few days after the defeat of Cronje's army, by hurrying General French's division to the practically defenseless capital of the Orange Free State, but he had in mind a flank movement which might be successful in surprising the Boer force before the railroad stock could be destroyed. Lord Roberts had demonstrated that he was a past master in the art of furnishing transport, and his plan was worth trying, he thought. After several skirmishes, the British were entirely successful, and March 13, the British flag floated over the executive

mansion so hastily abandoned by President Steyn. With commendable modesty the commander of the English forces apprised the war office of the occupation in the following official dispatch, dated Bloemfontein, Tuesday, March 13, 8 p. m.: "By the help of God, and the bravery of Her Majesty's soldiers, the troops under my command have taken possession of Bloemfontein. The British flag now flies over the presidency, evacuated last evening by Mr. Steyn, late president of the Orange Free State. Mr. Fraser, member of the late executive government; the mayor, the secretary of the late government, the landrost and other officials, met me two miles from the town and presented me with the keys of the public offices. The enemy have withdrawn from the neighborhood and all seems quiet. The inhabitants of Bloemfontein gave the troops a cordial welcome."

Bloemfontein surrendered at 10 A. M. and was occupied about noon. General French was within five miles of the town on the afternoon of Monday, the 12th, and sent a summons thither, threatening to bombard it unless it surrendered by 4 A. M. the next day. A white flag was hoisted at daylight, and a deputation of the Town Council, with Mayor Kellner, came out to meet General Roberts at Spitz Kop, five miles south of the town, and made a formal surrender. General Roberts marched into the captured town at noon and was received with tremendous cheering. He visited the public buildings and the official residence of the president, followed everywhere by an enthusiastic crowd, who waved the British flag and roared the national anthem.

President Steyn and a number of leading officials fled to Kroonstad, to which point the government was transferred.

There had been a lively session of the City Council of Bloemfontein to consider the question of surrender. The Transvaal Boers

were defiant and bitter and urged upon the Free Staters to fight to the "last ditch," but they replied that that simply meant the utter destruction of the town with the end inevitably the same. A messenger made all haste to the Boer camp on Modder River with this statement of the situation. The Transvaalers were so indignant that they returned word that they themselves would destroy Bloemfontein in payment for such cowardice. One cause, therefore, of the welcome given to Lord Roberts will be understood.

President Steyn presided at the meeting of the Council. He was denounced by his rival, Mr. Fraser, as a moral coward for refusing to accept the situation. General Roberts calmly awaited on the summit of a hill or kopje the arrival of the deputation, which included in addition to Mr. Kellner, the Mayor, Landrost Papenfus and Mr. Fraser. They were on horseback and were received and treated with the utmost courtesy by General Roberts.

Although Bloemfontein was secured without fighting, its fall was preceded by a number of exciting occurrences. General Gatacre crossed the Orange River and occupied Bethulie on the morning of March 15th. General Pole-Carew with 2,000 of the Guards Brigade, two guns and a small body of mounted infantry, left Bloemfontein in three trains to join hands with Gatacre and Clements. The Boers had mined the wagon bridge at Bethulie, but Lieutenant Popham of the Derbyshire Regiment stole across amid a fearful fire of shot and shell and cut the connecting wires. Finding several boxes of dynamite he returned, secured a small party and brought away the explosive. At night, Captain Grant removed the charges from the borings, threw them into the river and cut the remaining wires.

Meanwhile, to the north of Bloemfontein, Major Weston of the

engineers made his way through the Boer lines on the evening of March 12th with several men, and by cutting the telegraph and blowing up the railway made it impossible to remove the engines and cars in Bloemfontein. Before, however, the line was cut, thirteen trains, each consisting of forty crowded cars, steamed northward. Several thousands of the residents thus escaped, and those who wished to continue their defense had the chance of joining General Joubert.

Having given an account of the fall of Bloemfontein, it is now necessary to refer to a matter of a different and far more important nature.

#### PEACE PROPOSALS

Under date of March 5th, presidents Kruger and Steyn sent the following peace proposals to Lord Salisbury: "The blood and tears of the thousands who have suffered in this war, and the prospect of the moral and the economic ruin with which South Africa is now threatened make it necessary for both belligerents to ask themselves, dispassionately and in the sight of the triune God, for what they are fighting and whether the aim of each justifies all the appalling misery and devastation.

"With this object and in view of the assertions of various British statesmen to the effect that this war was begun and is carried on for the set purpose of undermining Her Majesty's authority in South Africa and to set up an administration over all of South Africa independent of Her Majesty's government, we consider it our duty to solemnly declare that the war was undertaken solely as a defensive measure to safeguard the threatened independence of the South African Republics and is only continued in order to

secure and safeguard the uncontested independence of both republics as sovereign international states, and to obtain the assurance that those of Her Majesty's subjects who have taken part with us in this war shall suffer no harm whatever in person or in property.

"On these conditions, and on these conditions alone, are we now as in the past, desirous of seeing peace reestablished in the South African republics and of putting an end to the evils now reigning over South Africa. While Her Majesty's government is determined to destroy the independence of the republics there is nothing left to us and to our people but to persevere to the end in the course already taken.

"In spite of the overwhelming preeminence of the British Empire we are confident that the God who lighted the inextinguishable fire of love of freedom in the hearts of ourselves and of our fathers will not forsake us, but will accomplish His work in us and our descendants.

"We have hesitated to make this declaration earlier to your Excellency as we feared that as long as the advantage was on our side, and as long as our forces held defensive positions far in Her Majesty's colonies, such a declaration might hurt the feelings and the honor of the British people. But now that the prestige of the British Empire may be considered to be assured by the capture of one of our forces by Her Majesty's troops, and that we were thereby forced to evacuate other positions that our forces had occupied, that difficulty is over and we can no longer hesitate clearly to inform your government and people, in the sight of the whole civilized world, why we are fighting and on what conditions we are ready to restore peace."

The reply of Lord Salisbury was dated March 11th and was as follows: "I have the honor to acknowledge your Honors' telegram, dated March 5th, from Bloemfontein, of which the purport is principally to demand that Her Majesty's government shall recognize the incontestable independence of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, and to offer on those terms to bring the war to a conclusion.

"In the beginning of October last, peace existed between Her Majesty's government and the two republics under the conventions which were then in existence, and discussions had been proceeding for some months between Her Majesty's government and the South African Republic, the object of which was to obtain redress for very serious grievances under which the British residents in the South African Republic were suffering. In the course of those negotiations the South African Republic had, to the knowledge of Her Majesty's government, made considerable armaments, and the latter had consequently taken steps to provide corresponding reinforcements to the British garrisons in Cape Colony and Natal. No infringement of the rights granted by the conventions had up to that point taken place on the British side.

"Suddenly, at two days' notice, the South African Republic, after issuing an insulting ultimatum, declared war upon Her Majesty's government, and the Orange Free State, with whom they had not even been in discussion, took a similar step. Her Majesty's dominions were invaded by the two republics, siege was laid to three towns within the British frontier and large portions of the two colonies were overrun, with great destruction to property and life, and the republics claimed the right to treat the inhabitants of extensive portions of Her Majesty's dominions as if those dominions

had been annexed to one or the other of them. In anticipation of these operations the South African Republic had been accumulating for many years past stores on an enormous scale, which, by their character, could only have been intended for use against Great Britain.

"Your honors make some observations of a negative character upon the object with which these preparations were made. I do not think it necessary to discuss the questions you have raised, but the result of these preparations, which were carried on with great secrecy, has been, that the British Empire has been compelled to confront an invasion which has entailed upon the empire a costly war, and the loss of thousands of precious lives. This great calamity has been the penalty which Great Britain has suffered for having in recent years, acquiesced in the existence of the two republics.

"In view of the use to which the two republics have put the position which was given them, and the calamities which their unprovoked attack has inflicted upon Her Majesty's dominions, Her Majesty's government can only answer your honors' telegram by saying that they are not prepared to assent to the independence either of the South African Republic or of the Orange Free State."

The *Standard* said that as a declaration of British policy, Lord Salisbury's reply to the presidents reflected with absolute fidelity the general opinion of Great Britain and the empire. Such was the verdict of the rest of the press. Moreover, considerable indignation was expressed over what was denounced as a willful misrepresentation of facts by presidents Kruger and Steyn.

This all-important phase of the situation being established, let us now follow the military movements.

A dispatch from General Roberts showed that the railway line

south of Bloemfontein was not damaged nor threatened, and with General Gatacre across the Orange River at Bethulie, General Clements at Norvals Point and General Pole-Carew at Springfontein, the British situation was in a most satisfactory condition. The occupation of Bethulie by General Gatacre was not opposed, the enemy evacuating the town upon his approach, and a deputation of citizens coming forth and making the surrender. They informed the British that President Kruger had, on March 13th, annexed the Free State to the Transvaal.

In a despatch dated March 20th, General Roberts informed the War Office that General Kitchener had occupied Prieska the day previous without resistance. The rebels were laying down their arms and Transvaalers were escaping across the river, while the Boers in the Basutoland were beginning to surrender. General Roberts prudently sought to pacify the region behind him before advancing further. Resentment was shown towards President Steyn because he failed to inform the inhabitants of Bloemfontein of General Robert's offer to spare the town if it surrendered.

About the same time, the Earl of Ranfurly, Governor of New Zealand, cabled to Colonial Secretary Chamberlain that that colony wished to endorse the position taken by Great Britain in regard to intervention in South Africa. She warmly supported the mother country, as she would to the end, and a large number of good shots and riders were volunteering and awaiting a chance to go to South Africa.

A despatch from Kroonstad, Orange Free State, dated March 18th, stated that the Pretoria Federal commanders were there in high spirits and impatiently awaiting the British advance. Presidents Kruger and Steyn made impassioned addresses, rousing their

hearers to a high degree of enthusiasm by declaring the war would be fought to the end and would surely result in Boer independence. They warned the Free State burghers not to believe Lord Roberts' proclamation nor to accept his invitation to lay down their arms.

The military situation for the following week or more did not show the improvement which was hoped for and expected in England. Since the relief of Ladysmith, interest centered in Mafeking, which, far over to the westward, had been entirely cut off and besieged by the Boers. The troops of General Roberts were so exhausted when they reached Bloemfontein that a prolonged rest was absolutely necessary. Not only was he thus prevented from following up his advantage, but the Boers gained time in which to make new intrenchments and formidable disposition of their forces.

The sad plight of Colonel Baden-Powell and his brave garrison at Mafeking awakened universal sympathy and anxiety. Reports of its capture and of its relief were made daily, and all came to believe that the former was much the more probable. Strong hope was placed upon the success of Colonel Plumer's column pushing to the relief of Mafeking, but, on March 16th, his advance guard was repulsed and his whole force retired northward. It looked as if Colonel Baden-Powell would have to rely upon himself until the Kimberley column or General Roberts should relieve him.

The severest blow to the Boer cause was inflicted on the night of March 27th, 1900, when Piet Joubert, Vice-President of the Transvaal and Commandant General of the republic's military forces, died at Pretoria, in his sixty-ninth year, from an attack of acute inflammation of the kidneys, after a short illness. The body was taken the next day to the Wakkerstroom district and there interred in the family cemetery on a farm owned by him. The

whole country was thrown into deepest gloom and his loss was regarded as irretrievable.

We have given, in the preceding pages, a sketch of this remarkable man. The English papers, while recognizing that he was a life-long and consistent enemy of Great Britain, admitted his freedom from the rancor ascribed to some of the other Boer leaders and paid tribute to his chivalrous character. It was of him that General White said in a speech at Cape Town: "He is a soldier and a gentleman, a brave and honest opponent."

The most remarkable exploit of General Joubert was his victory over Sir George Colley's force at Majuba Hill in 1881, where 280 British were killed and Joubert lost but five men. When in the United States, some years later, he was asked about the affair and replied: "Don't talk to me about Majuba Hill. I hate the very name. I am positively disgusted with it. We fought against the English for our rights, and would do so again if necessary. But it will not be necessary, as we are a peace-loving people. I don't know the locality. I don't know the name. Please don't ask me about it."

Although Oom Paul and Joubert were bosom friends, their views radically differed on important points. He believed that if the franchise were given the Uitlanders they would, in a reasonable time, become good citizens, and such he thought was the true solution of the problem. He was Puritanical in his sense of justice, and when Jameson's raiders were landed in jail, he favored shooting them. It took all of Kruger's persuasive powers to induce him to change his mind. Joubert's speech by which he gained the consent of the burghers to turn the prisoners over to the British is given elsewhere.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### THE TRAMP OF THE BRITISH LION—THE FAMOUS SPION KOP DESPATCHES

President Steyn having removed the seat of the Free State government to Kroonstadt, some one hundred and sixty miles north-east of Kimberley, the main body of the Boers rested there while their leaders did all they could to repair the demoralization naturally following General Roberts' brilliant advance on Kimberley and Bloemfontein. The terrific strain upon horse flesh caused by the rapid and continuous movement of Generals French and Kelly-Kenny in the capture of Cronje and the advance to Bloemfontein, compelled General Roberts to wait several weeks for remounts. The thorough, frank soldier never hesitates to put blame where it belongs, and dissatisfied with the inefficiency of General Gatacre, he sent him home. He was succeeded by General Sir H. Chermside, a younger officer with an excellent reputation for energy and ability. With General Cronje at St. Helena as a military prisoner, General Joubert dead and Colonel de Villebois-Mareuil killed in battle, it will be seen that the Boers, aside from their losses in privates, had suffered severely in the way of leaders.

A new factor was introduced into the British campaign by the landing of General Sir Frederick Carrington at Beira, in Portuguese East Africa, with a body of colonial troops, chiefly Australian bushmen, with a battery of Canadian troop.

On March 31st, a force of Boers at Thaba N'Chu, fifteen miles east of Bloemfontein, ambushed Colonel Broadwood's horse artillery with such skill that that officer lost nearly four hundred men, seven

guns and all his baggage, the Boers securing possession of the water-works near by. A few days later five hundred British cavalry and infantry troops at Reddersburg were taken prisoners, thus proving that the Boers were as active and alert as ever. About the same time Lord Methuen's troops captured a party of Boers near Boshof, the importance of the incident being heightened by the death of Colonel de Villebois-Mareuil, already alluded to.

Colonel Dalgetty having been shut up with a small force in Wepener, General Roberts in the latter part of April, made a determined effort to draw a cordon to the east around the Boers, who numbered 4,000 or 5,000; but, when success seemed certain, Commandant Botha succeeded in withdrawing with all his men and supplies. General French closely followed with his cavalry and the mounted infantry and there was a continual exchange of firing, but all that the Boers accomplished was slightly to delay the advance of General Roberts northward from Bloemfontein.

This delay, however, was of no importance. General Roberts had revived his transport service and equipped his men with fresh horses, so that his advance against Pretoria began almost at once. His army was deployed along a front of forty miles. With almost incredible rapidity, he swept northward, and ten days later entered Kroonstadt, the Boers fleeing in consternation before the approach of the resistless army. President Steyn made an early start and announced that Lindley, some 50 miles east, would take its turn in serving as capitol of the Orange Free State until further notice.

General Hunter, in command of the British forces north of Kimberley, kept step with the advance of Lord Roberts. Crossing the Vaal River at Windsordon, he fought a severe engagement on May 4th, and then joined General Paget's forces at Warrenton, not

far from Fourteen Streams. The following week he entered Christiana without opposition, and for the first time since the opening of the war, the British ensign was given to the breeze in the Transvaal. General Buller also began an advance in Natal, and no serious opposition was offered to his occupation of Glencoe, Dundee or the Biggarsburg passes.

Smaldeel, half way between Bloemfontein and Kroonstadt was occupied by the British without opposition April 6th, several Boer railway officials remaining to surrender. General Roberts' despatch contained this tribute to the colonial troops who have never failed to perform their duty brilliantly and fearlessly: "We crossed the Vet River this morning and are now encamped at Smaldeel Junction. The enemy is in full retreat toward Zand River and Kroonstadt.

"The turning movement made by the mounted infantry just before dark yesterday, was a very dashing affair. The Canadians, New South Wales Rifles, New Zealand Rifles and Queenstown Mounted Infantry, vied with each other in the determination to close with the enemy and Captain Anley of the Essexes behaved in a very gallant manner.

"The naval guns and the artillery made excellent practice, particularly two 5-inch guns, which were used for the first time by this force. We captured a Maxim and 25 prisoners. Our casualties were few. One killed, 25 wounded and 3 missing."

After such news, the occupation of Kroonstadt, as already stated, followed as a matter of course. It was provided with most formidable defences and intrenchments and doubtless the Boers would have made a determined fight but for the numerical superiority of the British, which rendered all resistance absolutely hopeless. The tremendous sweep of General Roberts' line and his flanking operations,

rendered possible by his immense mounted force, completely baffled the burghers, who had simply to choose between retreating or remaining to be strangled in the resistless coil. What a different story would have been told in the early stages of the war, had this wise policy been followed!

Major Weston, of the Engineers, and Scout Burnham, endeavored to repeat the line cutting which secured the rolling stock at Bloemfontein for the British, but they were just too late, and the Boers were thus enabled to save several trains and engines, one of the former containing a large amount of specie. The Landdrost was very reluctant to go out and meet General Roberts, who waited outside the town while the head of the column passed in.

On May 15th, the London war office announced that the total casualties to date, exclusive of those sick in hospitals in South Africa, have been 18,799, the losses being made up as follows: Killed, 2,322; died of wounds, 571; died from disease, 2,492; accidentally killed, 54; prisoners 4,459; invalidated home 8,901.

General Buller's advance and occupation of Dundee was reported in the following despatches through Lord Roberts: "Kroonstadt, May 14th.—General Buller reports that, in accordance with instructions to keep the enemy occupied at the Biggarsburg, on May 11, he concentrated the Third Cavalry on the Helpmakaar road. On May 13th he sent Hamilton and Bethune up Witchcock Hill, and the enemy hurriedly abandoned the position. On May 14th the enemy evacuated Helpmakaar."

Another despatch from General Buller dated May 15th, says: "Dundonald drove the rear guard on the main body of the enemy near Zuslinden. The enemy were 2,000 strong. We move on Dundee to-day. Hildyard moved on Wessels Nek on May 13th."

General Buller, under date of May 15th, 1 P. M., says: "Twenty-five hundred of the enemy yesterday left Dundee for Glencoe, where they entrained. Their wagons left yesterday for De Jaager's Drift and the Dannhauser road. The Kaffirs said the Boers were going to Laing's Nek. Almost every house in Dundee was completely looted and damaged. The machinery of the collieries has been destroyed. Hildyard occupied Wessels Nek to-day. Our small loss was due to Hamilton's, Dundonald's and Bethune's excellent leading."

These details regarding the advance are added: "May 14th.—The enemy evacuated Helpmakaar Nek during the night, leaving a rear guard of 1,000 in front of us. These we forced back throughout the day under considerable difficulties, as they set fire to all of the grass on top of the Berg while retreating, and the wind being unfavorable to us, we were scarcely able to see. I halted the infantry, who marched well through the hot smoke, at Beith. The cavalry has not yet reported, as they are some miles ahead. We have taken a few prisoners."

"Kemp's Farm, May 15th, 6:30 A. M.—Dundonald reported late last night that he had driven the rear guard on to the main body of the enemy near Zuslinden, where they occupied in force a strong position, with three powerful guns. Major Gough, with a composite regiment maneuvered to the right round their left flank. The enemy retired and Dundonald halted. He was twenty-five miles as the crow flies from last night's bivouac. He had covered nearly forty miles during the day in a waterless country, most of the time riding through smoke. I think his pursuit was a very fine performance.

"From prisoners I learn that the enemy were over two thousand

strong at Helpmakaar. Having been now joined by those who had been left at Van Jonder's Pass, they must be nearly three thousand strong."

#### RELIEF OF MAFEKING

Meanwhile, the anxiety regarding Mafeking deepened, and there were many who were in despair for its safety. All the news that filtered through the hostile lines showed that the garrison and its inhabitants were on the most meagre rations possible, and yet no one seemed to lose heart or was disposed to give up hope that relief would reach them in time. One of the messages from the beleaguered place said: "We have now come to eating anything that can be eaten, and are thankful to get it. Horse, locust and mule are familiar articles of diet to everybody, and horsehide brawn is extensively made. It is not bad, though it is somewhat gluey. The whole garrison have relinquished their daily allowance of an ounce of sugar to each man to enable the women's and children's amount to be increased."

Lady Sarah Wilson, on May 3rd, telegraphed to her sister in London that her breakfast on that day consisted of horse sausages, and her lunch of minced mule and curried locusts. The family of Colonel Baden-Powell wired him an invitation to dinner on March 28th. On May 15th they received the following reply: "Mafeking, May 9th, by runner to Ootsi.—Will be delighted to accept your kind invitation directly fortune permits."

Months before Lord Roberts predicted that Mafeking and Colonel Baden-Powell's gallant garrison would be relieved by May 18th of their long and trying confinement, but the feat was accomplished two day earlier—that is, on the 16th. The siege began on

October 14, 1899, General Cronje investing the town with about 3,000 Boers and three guns. When Cronje moved south to the Modder, General Snyman was in command of the besiegers. In Mafeking were a few hundred English soldiers and about 1,200 irregular troops.

The relieving force passed the Vaal River below Fourteen Streams, and then made a wide detour to the westward. The Boers must have learned of this march, but they could not offer serious opposition, since they were threatened at that time by the expedition under General Carrington approaching from the north.

With the abandonment of the siege of Mafeking, the Boers were everywhere placed on the defensive, in a narrowing semi-circle to the south from Mafeking to Laing's Nek.

Who shall describe the scenes in England, Canada, Australia and all the British colonies when the news reached them? None but those who saw the wild, hilarious rejoicing, and heard the shouts, the cheering and the songs of triumph, can picture the wonderful exhibition. Throughout the irrestrainable demonstrations, the soul-cheering thought was: "The end is in sight; the triumph of old England is near at hand."

The progress of Colonel Mahon's march to the relief of Mafeking was, until the fighting on May 13th, uneventful. Leaving Barkley West on the 4th, the column advanced at an average speed of twenty-five miles a day, although encumbered with twenty wagons and stores. Upon arriving at Vyburg, on May 10th, the Boers were found in force on the right flank. A race on parallel lines followed to Koodoosrand. The Boers aiming to head off Colonel Mahon. They arrived first, whereupon Colonel Mahon made a wide detour to the west in the night. The enemy followed closely, and attacked

sharply on the 13th, but suffered a repulse, leaving a number of dead on the field. Then the column made a wide detour and joined Colonel Plumer. The combined forces marched against the besiegers and heavily bombarded their laagers. The Boers, after a brief resistance, fled in order to preserve their line of retreat.

Colonel Mahon's expedition was one of the most complete and best managed incidents of the campaign. Every possible care was exercised in selecting the men and animals, the former being drawn mainly from the regiments that themselves had undergone the privations of a siege, namely, the Kimberley Light Horse, including a section of the Cape police and the Imperial Light Horse, which formed part of the garrison at Ladysmith. All were excellent horsemen and good shots.

Prince Alexander of Teck was Colonel Mahon's aide. Colonel Frank Rhodes, brother of Cecil Rhodes, was chief intelligence officer and was assisted by Major Baden-Powell, brother of the defender of Mafeking. In the fighting on the 13th, the major's watch was smashed by a Boer bullet which, but for this check, must have killed him.

When Colonel Mahon's forces joined Colonel Plumer's, the march of both having been admirably timed, the latter was found as splendidly equipped as themselves. The expedition was well armed, owing principally to the brilliant marching of the Canadian artillery. The united force, numbering 4,300 mounted men and artillery, encountered the enemy outside of Mafeking, some ten miles to the west. The Boers had withdrawn nearly their entire fighting force from the trenches around the town, and 2,000 strong had taken a position directly in the line of the British advance. The task of dislodging them was a heavy one, taking five hours.

The greatest assistance was rendered by the British guns, and the Canadians did excellent work. Only the fact that the Colonials were born bush fighters saved the British from heavy loss. As it was, they had thirty killed or wounded. The Boers sustained severe losses. Eventually they evacuated all their positions and fled, the small investing force around the town immediately raising the siege. There was no further opposition.

A detailed narrative of the assault made by Commandant Eloff, President Kruger's grandson, shows that it was a daringly brave or stupidly foolhardy feat, according to the point of view. The old fort which Commandant Eloff, with 150 men, rushed, is practically in the centre of the town, being less than five hundred yards from the market square. Colonel Hoare and the fifteen men who occupied the fort mistook the Boers in the darkness for comrades and did not fire on them. Colonel Hoare was conversing by telephone with headquarters and the latter's first intimation of what had happened was the interruption of Colonel Hoare's voice by a confused din, which was followed by a strange voice saying: "I am a Boer. We have taken Mafeking."

"Have you indeed?" was the prompt reply, and measures were instantly taken by which the invaders were cut off. It was then that Baden-Powell sent a white flag and, on receiving a refusal to surrender, the British surrounded the fort and poured fusillades into it, killing and wounding many. The Boers, however, held out throughout the day. Later some of the Boers found the place getting too hot for them and attempted to desert their comrades, whereupon Commandant Eloff himself fired on them. The burghers then decided that their position was untenable and their surrender followed.

**THE FAMOUS SPION KOP DESPATCHES.**

Parallels there may be in plenty in the archives of the war office of Great Britain for the now famous "Spion Kop despatches" of Lord Roberts, but the people are disposed to forget. Commendation of ranking commanders, not adverse criticism, is what lives—is what nations keep upon tablets so that he who runs may read. It is true that Lord Roberts dated his despatches February 13th and these were not printed in the Gazette until April 17th, pursuant to a call from a parliamentary source. But it is not the palpable intention of the war office to keep the matter from the people, so much as the feeling of sorrow that the occasion should have come for the publicity that has kept warm the discussion of the despatches throughout the British empire. It is the belief of a great many that the answer should have been made to those clamoring for the strictures on commanders. "We cannot make them public because of incompatibility with public interest."

Lord Roberts' despatches describe the terrible Spion Kop action and other operations covering a period from January 17th to January 24th, inclusive. General Warren is severely dealt with, and General Buller does not escape censure. Lord Roberts complains that the plan of operations is not clearly described in the despatches of the generals. Sir Charles Warren, who commanded the whole force engaged at Spion Kop, was made aware of General Buller's intention, and, as Lord Roberts pointed out, General Warren seems to have concluded, after consultation with his officers, that the flanking movement ordered by General Buller was impracticable and, therefore, so changed the plan of advance as to necessitate the capture and retention of Spion Kop. Lord Roberts' official despatch says: "As Warren considered it impossible to make the

wide flanking movement which was recommended, if not actually prescribed in the secret instructions, he should forthwith have acquainted Buller with the course he proposed to adopt. There is nothing to show whether he did so or not. But it is only fair to Warren to point out that Buller appears throughout to have been aware of what was happening."

In some exhaustive detail Lord Roberts discusses the withdrawal from the shell-raked face of Spion Kop, the point of advantage which had become of vital interest to the army, because the retention of the position had become essential to the relief of beleaguered Ladysmith, and adds: "I regret to be unable to concur with Buller in thinking Thorneycroft exercised wise discretion in ordering the troops to retire. I am of the opinion that Thorneycroft's assumption of responsibility and authority was wholly inexcusable. During the night the enemy's fire could not have been formidable, and it would not have taken more than two or three hours for Thorneycroft to communicate by messenger with Major-General Coke or Warren. Coke appears to have left Spion Kop at 9:30 P. M. for the purpose of consulting with Warren. Up to that hour the idea of withdrawal had not been entertained. Yet, almost immediately after Coke's departure, Thorneycroft issued the order, without reference to superior authority, which upset the whole plan of operations and rendered unavailing the sacrifices already made to carry it into effect. On the other hand, it is only right to state that Thorneycroft appears to have behaved in a very gallant manner throughout the day.

"It is to be regretted that Warren did not himself visit Spion Kop in the afternoon or evening, knowing, as he did, that the state of affairs was very critical and that the loss of the position would involve the failure of the operations. He consequently was obliged

to summon Coke to his headquarters, and the command of Spion Kop thus devolved on Thorneycroft, unknown to Coke, who was under the impression that the command devolved on General Hill, as senior officer. Omissions or mistakes of this nature may be trifling of themselves, yet they may exercise an important influence over the course of events, and I believe Buller was justified in remarking, 'there was a want of organization and system, which acted most unfavorably on the defense.'

"The attempt to relieve Ladysmith was well devised, and I agree with Buller in thinking it ought to have succeeded. That it failed may in some measure have been due to the difficulties of the ground and the commanding positions held by the enemy, and probably also to errors of judgment and want of administrative capacity on the part of Warren. But whatever faults Warren may have committed, the failure must also be attributed to disinclination to the officer in supreme command to assert his authority and see that what he thought best was done, and also to the unwarrantable and needless assumption of responsibility by a subordinate officer."

The despatch concludes: "The gratifying feature of these despatches is the admirable behavior of the troops throughout the operation."

General Buller's report, commenting on General Warren's reports of the capture and evacuation of Spion Kop, after disputing the correctness of some of Warren's assertions and describing the dangerous situation occupied by Warren's force, tells how he saw the force at Spion Kop had given away before Warren knew it. Buller therefore telegraphed to Warren: "Unless you put a really good hard fighting man in command on top you will lose the hill. I suggest Thorneycroft."

General Buller continues: "I have not thought it necessary to order an investigation. If at sundown the defense of the summit had been taken in hand, intrenchments laid out and the dead and wounded removed, the whole place would have been brought under regular military commands and the hills would have been held, I am sure. But no arrangements were made. Coke appears to have been ordered away just as he would have been useful and no one succeeded him. Those on top were ignorant of the fact that the guns were coming up, and generally there was a want of organization and system that acted most unfavorably on the defense. It is admitted that all of Thorneycroft's command acted with the greatest gallantry throughout the day, and really saved the situation. But preparations for the second day's defense should have been organized during the day and commenced at nightfall. As this was not done, I think Thorneycroft exercised wise discretion."

General Warren sets forth the fact that the Spion Kop operations had not entered into his original plans, as his instructions were to occupy a plain north of it. On consultation with the commander-in-chief on January 21st, however, when the question of retiring from or attacking Spion Kop was discussed, Warren expressed his preference for attacking. This was successfully accomplished by General Woodgate. Then came the order of the commander-in-chief to put Thorneycroft in command of the summit. In the meantime Warren had sent General Coke up to reënforce him, with orders to assume command. Ineffectual efforts were made to heliograph Thorneycroft and ask whether he had assumed command. Toward sunset he was finally enabled to get orders through, and concluded the position could be held the next day if guns could be provided and shelter obtained.

"Both these conditions were about to be fulfilled when, in the absence of Coke, whom I had ordered to come and report in person on the situation, the evacuation took place under orders given on his own responsibility by Thorneycroft. This occurred in the face of the vigorous protests of Coke's brigade major and others."

In conclusion General Warren said: "It is a matter for the commander-in-chief to decide whether there will be any investigation into the question of the unauthorized evacuation of Spion Kop."

It should be stated that the annexation of the Orange Free State to Great Britain was formally proclaimed at noon, on May 28th, in the market square of Bloemfontein. General Pretzman, the military governor of Bloemfontein read the proclamation of General Lord Roberts annexing the Free State and renaming it the Orange River State. In announcing this action, the proclamation referred to the Orange Free State as "having been conquered by Her Majesty's forces." This part was received with tremendous cheering, the British national anthem was sung and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired.

## CHAPTER XXXV

### JOHANNESBURG, PRETORIA AND THE END

A despatch from Lord Roberts, dated May 23rd, and sent from the south bank of the Rhenoster River, stated that upon his arrival there that morning, he found the enemy had fled during the night. They had occupied a strong position on the north bank of the river, which was carefully entrenched, but they deemed it unwise to defend it when they learned that Hamilton's force was at Heilbron and that the British cavalry had crossed the Rhenoster several miles lower down the stream and were threatening their right and rear. Before their departure the Boers had destroyed the bridge over the river and a number of miles of the railway.

A few days previous the Boer leaders suggested terms of surrender, but General Roberts replied as before that no terms other than unconditional submission would be accepted. These conditions the enemy declined and their resistance therefore went on.

The position abandoned by the Boers at Rhenoster River was exceptionally strong. The precipitous banks were forty feet high and the stream was entrenched on the south side, the whole position being commanded by kopjes a thousand yards from the river on the north side. It is easy to credit the report that General De Wet was angered over the abandonment and exchanged hot words with the other commanders.

The steady advance of Lord Roberts northward was accompanied by contributory movements. In Natal, General Buller was reported from the Boer camp at Volksrust to be fortifying his advance at

Schins Hoogte, the scene of the British repulse in February, 1881, and he sent a force across the Buffalo River from Ingogo to turn the left of the Boer position at Laing's Nek.

A disaster befell a squadron of Bethuen's Horse on the 20th at Scheeper's Nek, about eight miles southwest of Vryheid. All the squadron, with its five officers, were either killed, wounded or captured.

By the 26th, Lord Roberts had reached Vredefort, thirty-five miles from the Vaal River. The Boers retired to the north side of the Vaal, leaving the country open to Viljoen's Drift, on the Transvaal border. Everywhere the signs of the coming collapse of the enemy's resistance increased. The farmers in arms in the Thaba N' Chu district continued to surrender by the score; trustworthy advices from Johannesburg and Pretoria stated that the majority of the Boers favored surrendering, while those sure readers of the situation, the newspaper correspondents, agreed that the crises has been passed and that the war in the Free State was entirely over. Information from Pretoria described an influential peace party in that place headed by Mr. Eloff, son-in-law of President Kruger, and a man of great wealth. Not only he, but strong influence in Cape Town united in a determined effort to undermine the influence of the President.

The advance of Lord Roberts, who seems to have a partiality for anniversaries, crossed the Vaal, near Parys, on the Queen's birthday. In his despatch he added that General Hamilton's mounted division was at Boschbank and scouting parties were at Viljoen's Drift. Lord Roberts himself crossed the Vaal on the 27th and established his headquarters at Vereeniging, the opposition of the Boers being so slight that a loss of only four was reported. The

advance guard found the coal mines intact, but the railway bridge had been destroyed and the main body of the Boers fell back toward Johannesburg. A despatch dated the following day stated that Lord Roberts had advanced eighteen miles that day and was within eighteen miles of Johannesburg. The enemy had prepared several positions, which they abandoned one after the other upon the approach of the invaders.

All this prepared the public for the thrilling news contained in the following despatches: "Germiston, May 29.—We arrived here this afternoon without being seriously opposed. There were no casualties, so far as I am aware, in the main column, and not many, I trust, in the cavalry and mounted infantry. The enemy did not expect us until tomorrow and have not carried off all the rolling stock.

"We have possession of the junction connecting Johannesburg and Natal and Pretoria and Klerksdorp by railway. Johannesburg is reported quiet. No mines, I understand, have been injured.

"I shall summon the commandant in the morning, and if, as I expect, there should be no opposition, I propose to enter the town with all the troops at 12 noon."

The marvelous rapidity of Lord Roberts' advance prevented the wrecking of the mines, which would have taken place had there been time for the spirit of anarchy and revenge to gain the ascendancy.

The postscript to the foregoing despatch was added by Lord Roberts at Germiston, May 30th: "The brunt of the fighting yesterday fell on Hamilton's column. I had sent him, as already mentioned, to work around the west of Johannesburg in support of French's cavalry, which was directed to go north to the road leading to Pretoria. I have not heard from French as yet.

"Hamilton's report, which has just reached me, stated that about 1 o'clock in the afternoon he found his way blocked by the enemy, who were strongly posted on kopjes and ridges three miles south of the Rand. They had two heavy guns, several field guns and pompons. Hamilton immediately attacked them. The Gordons led on the right and captured one extremity of the ridge. Then they wheeled round and worked along it until after dark, clearing it of the enemy, who fought most obstinately. The City of London Imperial Volunteers led the other flank and would not be denied. But the chief share of the action, as in the casualties, fell to the Gordons, whose gallant advance excited the admiration of all.

"Hamilton is now at Florida, due west off Johannesburg. French is a few miles to the northeast. Gordon's cavalry, the mounted infantry and the seventh division hold the heights north of the town. The eleventh division, with the heavy artillery, is south of Johannesburg. Hamilton speaks in high praise of the manner in which Bruce Hamilton and Spens of the Shropshire Light Infantry handled the men under Smith-Dorrien's direction."

"Germiston, May 30, 4:50 P. M.—In answer to a flag of truce I sent to Johannesburg this morning for the Commandant to come and see me, he begged me to defer entering the town for twenty-four hours, as many armed burghers were still inside. I agreed to this, as I was most anxious to avoid the possibility of anything like disturbance within, and as bodies of the enemy still hold the hills in the immediate neighborhood, from which they will have to be cleared off beforehand.

"Rundle reports that he attacked a large party of Boers near Senekal on May 28. His casualties were not heavy.

"Brabant reports that two of his patrols, consisting of two

officers and forty men, were cut off by the enemy on May 28 and made prisoners."

The final postscript was added the next day in the form of the announcement that the British forces were in the possession of Johannesburg, and their flag was floating over the government buildings. The Queen telegraphed her congratulations to Colonial Secretary Chamberlain on the "joyful news of the occupation of Johannesburg," and all England, Canada and the colonies, as the tidings was flashed to them, broke into rejoicings hardly less than that which greeted the news of the relief of Mafeking.

#### SURRENDER OF PRETORIA

Indescribable confusion and turmoil in Pretoria followed the news of the fall of Johannesburg, for all read the inevitable sequence in the capture of the capital of the Transvaal. The banks were strongly guarded, the government stores looted by the burghers, while foreign residents and members of the fighting commands rushed through the city. President Kruger, State Secretary Reitz and other prominent officials left for Middleburg during the night. The scene at the railway station was solemn and affecting, and men and women wept as the train drew out. The unnecessary and precipitate flight of the president, and his taking away of the gold bullion intended for coinage, and the leaving of a majority of the officials unpaid, caused deep indignation among the burghers. Learning of this, President Kruger, some time later, sent orders that the new treasury notes would be redeemed in gold. These were the notes issued for the payment of salaries.

On June 5th, the London war office posted a despatch from General Lord Roberts, announcing that he was in possession of

Pretoria and would make his official entry at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of that day. Later these details were sent: "Pretoria, June 5, 11:55 P. M.—Just before dark yesterday evening the enemy were beaten back from nearly all the positions they had been holding, and Hamilton's mounted infantry followed them up to within 2,000 yards of Pretoria, through which they retreated hastily. Delisle then sent an officer with a flag of truce into the town, demanding its surrender.

"Shortly before midnight I was awakened by two officials of the South African Republic, Sandburg, Military Secretary to Commandant-General Botha, and a general officer of the Boer army, who brought me a letter from Botha proposing an armistice for the purpose of settling the terms of surrender. I replied that I would gladly meet the commandant-general the next morning, but that I was not prepared to discuss any terms, as the surrender of the town must be unconditional. I asked for a reply by daybreak, and stated that I had ordered the troops to march on the town as soon as it was light.

"In his reply Botha told me that he had decided to defend Pretoria, and that he trusted women, children and property would be protected.

"At 1 A. M. to-day, while on the line of march, I was met by three of the principal civil officials with a flag of truce, who stated their wish to surrender the town. It was arranged that Pretoria should be taken possession of by Her Majesty's troops at 2 o'clock this afternoon. Mrs. Botha and Mrs. Kruger are both in Pretoria.

"Some few of the prisoners have been taken away, but the majority are at Waterval. Over one hundred officers are in Pretoria. The few I have seen are looking well."

Lord Roberts told of the battle before Pretoria in the following despatch: "Six Mile Spruit, June 4, 8:40 P. M.—We started this morning at daybreak and marched about ten miles to Six Mile Spruit, both banks of which were occupied by the enemy. Henry's and Ross's mounted infantry with the West Somerset, Dorset, Bedford and Suffolk companies of Yeomanry quickly dislodged them from the south bank and pursued them for nearly a mile, when they found themselves under a heavy fire from guns which the Boers had placed on a well concealed and commanding position. Our heavy guns of the naval and regular artillery which had purposely been placed in a front part of the column, were hurried on to the assistance of the mounted infantry as fast as the oxen and mules could travel over the great rolling hills by which Pretoria is surrounded.

"The guns are supported by Stephenson's brigade of Pole-Carew's division. After a few rounds we drove the enemy out of their positions.

"The Boers then attempted to turn our left flank. In this they were again foiled by the mounted infantry and Yeomanry, supported by Maxwell's brigade of Tucker's division. As, however, they still kept pressing to our left, I sent word to Ian Hamilton, who was advancing three miles to our left, to incline toward them and fill up the gap between the two columns. This finally checked the enemy, who were driven back toward Pretoria. I hoped we should have been able to follow them, but the days now are very short in this part of the world, and after nearly twelve hours' marching and fighting we had to bivouac on the ground.

"During the day the Guards Brigade was quite near the most southern fort by which Pretoria was defended, and less than four

miles from the town. French, with the Third and Fourth Mounted Brigades and Hutton's Mounted Infantry, is to the north of Pretoria. Broadwood's Brigade is between French and Hamilton's column and Gordon's is watching the right flank of the main force not far from the railway bridge at the Irene station, which has been destroyed by the enemy.

"Our casualties, I hope, are very few."

"After Pretoria, what?" asked the world. General Apathy seemed to take command and reply—"little, for the Boers are broken in spirit, in finances, in forces and courage, and nothing remains but a fatuous policy of guerilla warfare." General Roberts could not forecast his plans for the world. He had to grasp each day's situation as it arose. But with the cheers of the people of Pretoria—and there were many released British prisoners in the throngs that gathered at the flag-raisings—ringing in his ears, he saw his duty. Kruger was wily and determined to keep alive his semblance of power as long as a commando of his men would endure the privations of the opera bouffe resistance. To General Hunter Lord Roberts gave the injunction, "get control in Potchefstroom and keep control of the railway between Klerksdorf and Johannesburg." The clearance of the eastern district of the Orange River State was another task he knew he had to perform. And General Buller with his army at Laing's Nek was to be advanced to compel the evacuation of the strongly entrenched positions. Until Buller joined hands with the other army, communications and bases of supplies would not be safe.

That Buller was determined to do his part of the work assigned him was signified in the following official communication dated Yellow Boom Farm, June 8: "On June 6 General Talbot Coke, with

the Tenth Brigade and the South African Light Horse, seized Van Wyke Hill. The enemy made some resistance and a good deal of sniping occurred. Our casualties were about four killed and thirteen wounded. During that day and the following we got two 4.7 and two 12-pounder naval guns onto Van Wyke Hill, and two 5-inch guns onto the southwestern spur of Inkewelo. Under cover of their fire General Hildyard to-day assaulted all the spurs of the berg between Botha's Pass and Inkewelo. The attack, which was well planned by Hildyard and carried out with immense dash by the troops, for whom no mountains were too steep, outflanked the enemy, who were forced to retire from their very strong position. I think we did not have any casualties, and I hope I have obtained a position from which I can render Laing's Nek untenable."

Driven to desperation by their reverses, the burghers became perniciously active. They aimed at cutting off communications and for a time startled the world with their well-timed attacks. From Lieutenant General Frederick Forester-Walker, came the official report of a disaster to British arms at Roodeval, where the Boers cut Lord Roberts' line of communications. The fourth battalion of the Derbyshire regiment was severely cut up. The message received by the War Office from Cape Town, on Sunday, June 10th, follows: "The following telegram has been received from Charles Knox: 'Kroonstad—The following casualties, reported from Roodeval, June 7th, received from Stonham, commanding the Imperial Yeomanry hospital, dated Rhenoster River, June 8th, received here by flag of truce June 10th: The fourth battalion of the Derbyshire regiment (the Sherwood Foresters)—Killed, Lieutenant Colonel Baird-Douglas and Lieutenant Hawley, and fifteen of the rank and file; wounded, Colonel Wilkinson, Captain Bailey, Lieutenants Hall,

Lowder and Blanchard, and fifty-nine of the rank and file. The Shropshire Light Infantry, one. Cape Pioneer Railroad Regiment, seven. Ammunition Park, Royal Marines and Imperial Telegraphers, one each. Postoffice corps, one. Stonham reports that many were severely wounded and the remainder of the Fourth Derbyshire and details of prisoners, except six of the rank and file, are in his camp. All the wounded are in his camp, lately occupied by the Fourth Derbyshire. Inquiries are being made as to the names.'"

From General Buller's headquarters in Natal came the intelligence that on June 11 the forces concentrated on the Klip River at its junction with the Gansvlei the night previous. He anticipated at that defile a force of the enemy about 3,000 strong, who had intended to occupy it, and retired as soon as the heavy guns opened, which were very quickly brought into action by Major May of the Royal Artillery and Captain Jones of the Royal Navy.

The South African Light Horse and the Second Cavalry brigade were smartly engaged while covering the left front. The casualties were about six killed and seven wounded.

Precisely eight months after the war began, General Buller completed the deliverance of Natal from invasion. The carrying of the last defile at Charlestown and the planting of his army in the Transvaal, gave the tenacious leader who had fought so long for the deliverance of Ladysmith, this distinction. The defeat of the Boers at Honing Spruit by forces from the north, about the same time cleared the situation between Kroonstad and Pretoria, gave the British fresh hope of completing all the turning movements and dissipating any threatening return of serious encounters. Buller forced the evacuation of Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill without any butcher's bills. After brilliant maneuvers the bayonet charges of

the Second Dorsets and the cavalry charges of the forces under General Hildyard, Buller was free to act in his advance to either Standerton and Pretoria or to operate with General Rundle, Lord Methuen and General Colville in running down the Orange River forces.

Meanwhile Lord Roberts, with a firm conviction that the best way to keep Pretoria and Johannesburg quiet was to advance against General Botha's forces, sallied out fifteen miles from the Boer capital and soon gave the world tidings of two victories over the enemy. The Boers, adapting themselves to the British tactics, chose a strong position with an almost impregnable center. They wished to meet Lord Roberts with a scheme for flanking movements. However, they reckoned without those dashing leaders, Generals French and Hamilton, and their ends were turned as if they were composed of a rabble of undisciplined men. Lord Roberts wanted that key to the position. He got it. But one of the fallen in that fight was the Earl of Airlie.

Again the public heard of the daring and irresistible striking of the foe by Lord Kitchener. Ordered to restore communications with Kroonstad, the Sirdar and General Methuen met De Wet's forces at a point on the Rhenoster River and scattered the enemy. Methuen lost nineteen men. His march on forced orders from Lindley to Heilbron, thence to the Rhenoster to the scene of the attack did much to brighten the military reputation of the leader. The De Wet raid, like many another that followed, ended in disaster for the burghers and served to read the Boers a lesson that they were too dull to accept—that they must succumb to the inevitable. President Kruger, who had established his executive government in a railway car at Machadoorp, where he had a locomotive constantly

under steam to draw himself and capital to a place of greater safety, became the object of pity by many. They wondered why the president still maintained a show of resistance.

Desultory fighting with the prospect of bringing the guerilla warfare to an end in a few months, was the situation in the middle of June. Occasionally the movements in South Africa took on the dignity of some extensive operation and Lord Roberts apprised the War Office. Returning to Pretoria, the British leader under date of June 13 sent the following: "The enemy evacuated their strong position during the night and have retired to the eastward. Buller's force and mine have afforded each other mutual assistance. Our occupation of Pretoria caused numbers of Boers to withdraw from Laing's Nek, and Buller's advance to Volksrust made them feel their rear would be shortly endangered."

Lord Roberts reports under date of Pretoria, June 13, 9:55 a. m., as follows:

"Methuen advanced to Honingspruit yesterday and found all quiet. Kroonstad is strongly held. Methuen returned to-day to Rhenoster River, where the railway is being repaired. We were engaged all day yesterday with Botha's army. The enemy fought with considerable determination and held our cavalry on both flanks, but Ian Hamilton, assisted by the guard's brigade of Pole-Carew's division, pushing forward, took the hill in his front, which caused the enemy to fall back on their second position to the eastward. This they are still holding. It is slightly higher than the one we have captured. The great extent of country which has to be covered under modern conditions of warfare renders progress very slow.

"Details of the casualties have not reached me, but I under-

stand they are moderate in numbers. The only further casualties reported to date are two officers wounded."

As the great developments of the Eastern situation came to engross the attention of the world and divert the eyes of the world to China, Lord Roberts seemed to be in complete control of the South African situation—he had a definite purpose in view and required but a little time to bring about the consummation of that purpose. He had two lines of railway communications, or three if the route by way of Mafeking is included, and desired the fourth to cut off the Beers and reduce them to the point of unconditional surrender by taking all supplies from them. To do this the Delegoa Bay line of railroad was necessary. It was in July that he directed much of his efforts toward getting full control of this line and the Boers put up a resistance of varying importance. The temporary annoyance that a flying column of Boers gave General Baden-Powell at Rustenburg, sixty miles west of Pretoria, gave the hero of Mafeking no more concern than did a few besiegers at the veldt city. The Caledon Valley Boers, who kept up their guerilla tactics for so long, surrendered, and the holding of the Bethlehem Hills no longer serve a military purpose. Generals Prinsloo, Villicers and Crowther struck another blow at the Boer hope for a final stand when they surrendered their force.

Inasmuch as the Nauwpoort campaign seems to have been one of the most prominent in July the official dispatch of Lord Roberts dated July 29th, announcing the surrender is of interest. He says:

"On July 26th MacDonald fought a rear guard action with the enemy, from early morning until dark, nine miles outside of Nauwpoort, in the Bethlehem Hills, resulting in his effectually blocking Nauwpoort Nek to the Boer wagons.

"Hunter reports that the enemy twice checked his advance by holding strong positions on two neks, one of which was taken before dark by the Scots, the Royal Irish, the Wiltshire and the Leinster Regiments. Our casualties were only five or six. The second nek was taken during the night by the Scots and Guards without opposition, the enemy retiring closely to Naauwpoort.

"Prisoners taken stated that twelve hundred burghers would surrender if guaranteed that they would be treated as prisoners of war and not as rebels. To this I assented. As a result of these operations, Prinsloo, commanding the Boers, asked, under a flag of truce this morning, a four days' armistice for peace negotiations.

"Hunter replied the only terms he could accept were unconditional surrender, and, until these were complied with, hostilities could not cease. I expressed my approval and told Hunter on no account to enter into negotiations.

"As I am writing a telegram has come from Hunter saying that Prinsloo had written a second letter expressing willingness to hand over himself, with his men, rifles, ammunition and other firearms upon condition that the horses, saddles, bridles and other possessions of the burghers be guaranteed them, and they be free to return to their homes.

"I have replied that the surrender must be absolutely unconditional; that all rifles, ammunition, horses and other possessions must be given up, and that the burghers will be considered prisoners of war. I added that Prinsloo's overtures will not be allowed in any way to interfere with Hunter's operations, which must be continued until the enemy is defeated or has surrendered."

Right on the heels of this came the following: "Hunter reports that Prinsloo, Villiers and Crowther, with 986 men and

their horses and rifles, surrendered yesterday. The rest of the men who are in the hills hesitate about surrendering. They claim to be independent of Prinsloo. Hunter has been ordered to resume hostilities immediately and to hold Prinsloo personally responsible to see that every rifle is given up."

Correspondents with Hunter sent stories of streams of surrendering Boers marching into the headquarters at Slapkranz. One report says: "The Winburg and Senekal commandos are now arriving, about 600 men. General Roux has arrived, and also the commandant of the Wepener commando. It will take several days to get all in. There is a continuous stream of wagons for seven miles up the valley road. All the leaders have surrendered. The prisoners include foreign artillerists."

Lord Roberts himself, under date of Aug. 1, at Pretoria, said: "Hunter reports 1,200 more Boers surrendered yesterday, with Commandants Rouse and Fontenel, while Commandants Deploy, Potgieter and Joubert surrendered to Bruce Hamilton, who collected 1,200 rifles, 650 ponies and an Armstrong gun. Lieutenant Anderson, a Danish officer in the Staats artillery, also surrendered. Oliver, with five guns and a number of burghers, broke away in the Harrismith district, but Hunter expects the total prisoners will amount to 4,000.

"An unfortunate accident occurred near Frederickstadt on the Krugersdorp-Potchefstroom railway. The enemy had torn up rails, and a supply train, escorted by the Shropshires, was derailed, thirteen being killed and thirty-nine injured, although a special patrol had been ordered to prevent trains from passing. A special inquiry has been ordered to ascertain why the order was disobeyed."

Skirmishes and sniping by the Boers occupied the time until

August 8th, when the escape of De Wet's forces, after having been practically surrounded, was reported by Lord Roberts in the following dispatch:

"Kitchener was informed yesterday by an escaped British prisoner that De Wet's wagons had crossed the Vaal. Afterward I heard the sound of guns, which, I think, must have been Methuen's, as I directed him to take up a position between Potchefstrom and Lindique, where he could intercept the enemy, who crossed the river at Dewetsdorp. Kitchener is crossing the Vaal with cavalry and mounted infantry.

On the evening of August 9th, while appearances indicated the complete pacification of the Boers in and around Pretoria, ten leaders in a conspiracy to abduct Lord Roberts and kill all the officers possible, were arrested.

Everything was prepared in the plot to make Lord Roberts a prisoner and to shoot the British officers, and the conspiracy was only discovered at the last moment. The conspirators numbered about fifteen. The plan was to set fire to the houses in the extreme western part of the city, hoping that the troops would be concentrated there; then the conspirators were forcibly to enter all houses occupied by British officers, these having been previously marked, and to kill the occupants. All the Boer sympathizers were acquainted with the plot, and several had been told off to secure the person of Lord Roberts and to hurry with him to the nearest commando. Horses had been obtained for this purpose. Then the British learned the names of the ringleaders, who were put under arrest. The affair caused a tremendous sensation.

## COMMON BOER NAMES AND THEIR MEANING.

The language of the Boers is that of Holland, modified by two centuries of contact with the native African tribes (especially the Kaffirs) by the Malays, and by French and Spanish settlers and traders.

In the Boer language *a* has always the sound that it has in *law*.

*Uit* is pronounced *ate*.

*Ein* is *ain*.

*Oo* has the long sound of *o* as in *home*.

*Ou* is the same as *ow*.

*Oe* is the equivalent of *oo* in *boot*.

*Ij* and *j* correspond to *y* in English.

*Berg* is *mountain*, the plural being formed by the addition of *en* after the *g*. A *drift* is a *ford*, and a *dorp* a *town*, or *village*. Thus we have *Kruggersdorp*, *Leydsdorp*, etc.

*Stad* also means *town*; and *winkel* (pronounced *winkle*) a *store*, where almost everything is sold. *Fontein*, as the name implies, means *spring*, and *krantz*, a *cliff* or *precipice*. *Boschveld* (pronounced *bushfelt*) is an *open plain* covered with bush. To *trek* is to *travel*; *voortrekkers* meaning *pioneers*.

A *vlei* (*flay*) is a *pool of water*, mostly formed in the rainy season. *Rooinek* is the term of contempt applied to Britishers, and means "red-neck"; it is not infrequently prefixed by the adjective "verdomde" (ferdomdy). *Rooibaatjes* is Cape Dutch for "Tommy Atkins," or redcoats. A *stoep* (pronounced *stoop*) is a raised platform in front of a house—something like a *verandah*—on which the Boer loves to take his weed.

*Vrouw* (meaning *housewife*) is pronounced "frow." *Slim* (often applied to General Piet Joubert) is *cunning*, or *artful*, or, slangingly speaking, *fly*. *Kerel* is *chap*, or *fellow*. *Baas* (pronounced *so*) is *master*, and *baas op*, *boss up*. To *inspan* is to *harness*, or *tether*.

## THE STORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

horses or cattle; to *uitspan* is to *unharness*. *Uitspan* is also applied to the resting place of the animals. *Oorlog* is *war*.

The following are the more common words used in the Transvaal, with their proper pronunciation and definition:

Boer (boo-er),	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Farmer
Buitenlander (boy-ten-lont-er),	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Foreigner
Burgher (buhr-ker),	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Citizen
Commando,	.	.	.	.	.	.	A body of armed men	
Jonkher (yunk-hair),	.	.	Gentlemen, or members of the Volksraad					
Kopje (koppy),	.	.		A hillock or piece of rising ground				
Kraal,	.	.		Settlement; place of rounding up				
Krüger (kree-er),	.	.						
Laager,	.	.			Camp, or fortified enclosure			
Oom (ome),	.	.				.	Uncle	
Raad (rahd),	.	.				.	Senate	
Raadsheer (rads-hair),	.	.				.	Senator	
Raadhuis (rahd-hoys),	.	.				.	Senate house	
Raadzael (rahd-zaahl),	.	.				.	Parliament house	
Rand (rahnt),	.	.				.	Edge; margin	
Spruit (sprate),	.	.				.	Creek	
Staat (staht),	.	.				.	State	
Staatkunde (staht-kuhn-de)	.	.				.	Politics	
Stad (stot),	.	.				.	City	
Stemmer (stemmer),	.	.				.	Voter; elector	
Transvaal (trons-fahl),	.	.	Across the yellow or yellowish river					
Trek (treck),	.	.				.	Draught; journey	
Trekken (trecken),	.	.				.	To travel; to draw	
Uit (ate),	.	.				.	Out; out of	
Uitlander (ate-lont-er),	.	.				.	Newcomer; outsider	
Vaal (fahl),	.	.				.	Valley	
Vaderlandshafde (fah-ter-lonts-leef-te),	.	.				.	Patriotism	
Veld (felt),	.	.				.	Field; plain; open lands	
Veldheer (felt-hair),	.	.				.	Commandant-General	
Veldwachter (felt-voock-ter),	.	.				.	Rural Guard	
Volksraad (fulks-rahd),	.	.				.	Lower House of Congress	
Voorrecht (fore-rekt),	.	.				.	Franchise; privilege	
Vreemdelling (frame-da-ling)	.	.				.	Stranger	
Witwaterstrand (vit-vot-ters-ront),	.	.				.	Margin of the white water	
Wallaby,	.	.				.	To tramp or wander	

## GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

### SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC (Independent) :

PRESIDENT—Stephanus J. Paulus Kruger—“Oom Paul.”  
VICE-PRESIDENT—General P. J. Joubert.  
SECRETARY OF STATE—F. W. Reitz.  
CHAIRMAN OF FIRST VOLKSRaad—F. G. Wolmarans.  
CHAIRMAN OF SECOND VOLKSRaad—N. Steen Kamp.  
CAPITAL—Pretoria.

### ORANGE FREE STATE (Independent) :

PRESIDENT—M. J. Steyn.  
SECRETARY OF STATE—P. J. Blignaut.  
CHAIRMAN OF THE VOLKSRaad—C. H. Wessels.  
CHIEF JUSTICE SUPREME COURT—M. de Villiers.  
CAPITAL—Bloemfontein

### BECHUANALAND (English) :

GOVERNOR—Sir Alfred Milner.  
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER—Major Hamilton John Goold-Adams.  
Cape Town governs the colony.

### NATAL AND ALSO ZULULAND (English) :

GOVERNOR—Sir Walter F. Hely-Hutchinson.  
PREMIER—Sir Henry Binns.  
ATTORNEY-GENERAL—Mr. Bale.  
CAPITAL—Pietermaritzburg.

### CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AND CAPE COLONY (English) :

GOVERNOR—Sir Alfred Milner.  
IMPERIAL SECRETARY—George V. Fiddes.  
COMMANDER OF TROOPS—Lieut.-Gen. Sir William T. Butler.  
PREMIER—William Philip Schreiner.  
SPEAKER OF THE ASSEMBLY—W. B. Berry.  
CAPITAL—Cape Town.

### BASUTOLAND (English) :

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER—Sir Godfrey Y. Lagden.  
CAPITAL—Maseru.

## DISTANCES BY RAILROAD IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The British-Boer war has emphasized the fact that South Africa is a country of few railroads, vast distances, discouraging topographical conditions, and few good seaports. But cities and places comparatively unknown to the world are now marked with especial significance on the maps. Precious human blood has dyed the sun-baked soil, and the sieges of Kimberley, Ladysmith and Mafeking will live in history. Many other places that were insignificant and scarcely worthy of specification on the maps are now shown in big type. Among these will be noticed, Elandslaagte, Paardesburg, Estcourt, Modder River, Colenso, Spion Kop, Glencoe, Dundee, Aliwal North, etc.

But four railway routes pierce the interior, running from as many seaports. The chief line, that which runs from Cape Town to Buluwayo, the present northern terminus of the projected "Cape to Cairo" road, has been taxed to its greatest capacity by the English army as a means of transport for supplies and soldiers. The trunk line north from Port Elizabeth taps the Cape Colony territory and gives access to the Orange Free State. The road leading towards the South African Republics from Durban, the Natal seaport, has been of incalculable value as a transport system for the British army. From Lorenzo Marquez, in Portuguese territory, the railroad affords the most direct communication with Pretoria and Johannesburg. But for the neutrality laws this line would have been used by Great Britain for the invasion of the Transvaal. Distances between principal cities, figured by the most direct routes from the four ocean termini, are as follows:

CAPTOWN TO	MILES.	PORT ELIZABETH TO	MILES
Kimberley.....	647	Naauwpoort.....	270
Mafeking.....	870	Norval's Point.....	828
Modder River.....	622	Bloemfontein.....	450
Norval's Point .....	628	Kroonstad.....	590
Buluwayo.....	1,861	Johannesburg.....	714
Johannesburg.....	1,014	Pretoria.....	740
Pretoria.....	1,040		
De Aar.....	501	DURBAN TO	MILES
Bloemfontein.....	750	Pietermaritzburg.....	70
Naauwpoort.....	570	Ladysmith.....	189
Vryburg.....	774	Spion Kop.....	195
Paardesburg .....	672	Harrismith.....	249
		Glencoe .....	231
DELAGOA BAY TO	MILES.	Newcastle.....	268
Pretoria.....	849	Laing's Nek.....	301
Johannesburg .....	895	Volksrust.....	308
Bloemfontein.....	609	Johannesburg.....	483
Majuba Hill .....	515	Pretoria .....	511



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